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A History of the United States

VOLUME II

J. Winthrop

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE

FROM THEIR EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

ELROY McKENDREE AVERY

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES
VOLUME II

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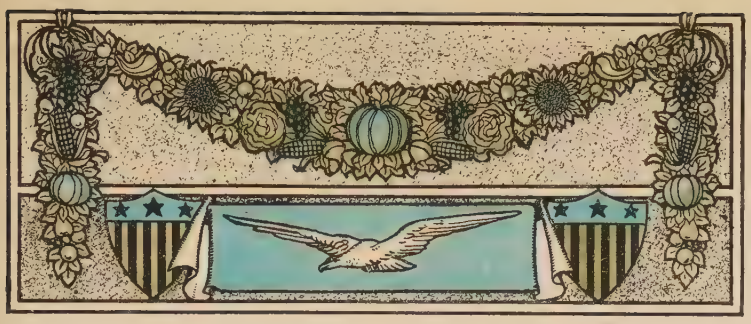

P R E F A C E

THE purpose back of this book is the same as that set forth in the preface to its predecessor. The reception given to that volume has justified the important features of the original plan.

I had accepted, almost as an axiom, the fact that "history cannot be written upon one scale or for one purpose only; that the needs of the public are very different from those of the professed student."

I felt sure that the general public would approve an avoidance of "abysmal notes, overladen with trivial details, and told with such portentous long-windedness that only professional students, examinees, schoolmasters and their pupils really master them."

I had been influenced by Frederic Harrison's statement that "our analytic and microbic Research immensely overshadows our co-ordinating activity."

I thought that it was possible to write so that what was written would be actually read and easily understood and still to avoid falling into the quicksands of blunders, partisanship, and curious delusions.

With such beliefs, and with a strong desire to be clear and fair and accurate, this second volume, like the first, has been written. I hope that they who read it will find that I have not failed.

The tendencies of the period covered by this volume seem to me to afford a good example of the unity of our colonial history which compels its study by what Mr. Sloane well describes as "transverse sections rather than by longitudinal fibers."

ELROY M. AVERY

Cleveland, August, 1905

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(*b*) The map appeared in Smith's *Generall Historie* (London, 1624).

(*c*) It also appeared in *Purchas: His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), vol. 4. The map, printed from this state of the plate and from which the photograph for this reproduction was made, is in the Library of Congress.

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Near the foot of page 386, vol. 2, a paragraph begins:—"He likewise made known how much Sir Francis Wyatt was commended for." This is continued on page 387 as follows: "his good service and noble carriage of himself in his government, and moved that, seeing the Company had chosen him again for Governor for three years longer, they would also consider how to supply him for the time to come with his just number of tenants, and to recompense him for the loss he hath sustained thereby.
"Which being taken into consideration, it was held both just and reasonable that the Company should make good their contract with him, and

thereupon, by a general erection of hands, agreed and ordered that signification should be given unto him of his re-election; and in respect the Company wanted means to send over more men unto him, he should be supply'd with his full number out of the Company's tenants there, and for to recompense his former losses, it was referred to the consideration of the quarter-court.

"Upon the like motion and request in the behalf of Mr. George Sandys, Treasurer, it was agreed and ordered, by a general erection of hands (onely one dissenting), that those men which the Company have promised to send him, but wanted means to make it good, should be now likewise supplyed out of the Company's tenants.

"Mr. Bull, Treasurer for the Old Magazine, moved that whereas Mr. Alderman Johnson hath four hundred and odd pounds remaining in his hands, long since due to the Magazine adventurers, whose accompt, in respect of some differences, was referred to Mr. Alderman Hammersley and Mr. Wither to examine and arbitrate, that for so much as Mr. Wither has gone beyond sea they would now therefore appoint some other in his stead, and the rather for that Mr. Alderman Johnson is tyed to give an accompt before August next; this was referred to the quarter-court to consider of." Then comes the attestation of the correctness of the copy, signed by Edward Collingwood, secretary of the Company for Virginia, and Thomas Collet, of the Middle Temple, Gentlemen, on the 19th day of June, 1624.

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From a painting by Robert Walker, Uffizi palace, Florence, Italy.

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This work is very rare. Reproduced from copy in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, R. I.

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Photographed from a pastel copy of the original owned by the Maryland Historical Society, from the oil painting in the State House at Annapolis. The original painting, by Mytens, court painter to James I., is in the gallery of the earl of Verulam at Glastonbury, England. The copy referred to above was presented to the state of Maryland by John W. Garrett in 1882.

Letter by George Calvert 199

From photograph of original letter now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. Following is a transcript: "M^r. Bingley. I pray you

dispatch these bearer this day in any case for this impost money that they may be gone to morrow for on Saturday next they must be at the Posts, or else the soldiers must lye there longer tarrying their coming and the King putt to a greater charge . . . Yr affcnate friend
9. Septmb. 1626 Geo. Calvert"

Autograph of Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore 199

Attached to a deed on parchment dated "15th Oct. 1633 for ⅛ part of vessel 'Dove' to Leonard Calvert from Cecil Lord Baltimore." Signed by Cecilius Calvert and seal attached. For further information see *Calvert Papers*, No. 3.

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Facsimile from the first printed copy of the translation of the charter of Maryland. (The original was in Latin.) It is from *A Relation of Maryland. Anno Dom. 1635.* Reproduced from copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

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Photographed from engraving in *Gwilliam's Heraldry.* It was engraved in 1657 when Cecilius was fifty-one years of age. The original engraving by Abraham Blotling is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society.

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Reproduced in original colors from copy in possession of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

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This is the first publication issued in London descriptive of the new province of Maryland. Reproduced from copy in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

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Facsimile of patent for lands at South Hoeck; signed by Peter Minuit and his council, dated at Fort Amsterdam, July 15, 1630. This is the earliest extant official document of Minuit's administration. We feel quite confident that it has not before been reproduced in any book, certainly not in a general history. From the original in the archives of the New York State Library.

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This is a facsimile of the original deed of the Albany lands of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. This document is owned by the Hon. John Boyd Thacher, of Albany, who procured it in Holland from the Van Rensselaers. It has not previously been reproduced in any general history. From a photographic reproduction generously supplied by the owner, who states that the seal is broken but that about one-third of it is preserved.

Facsimile of Map of New Netherland in Joannes de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt* (New World) . . 222

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Reproduced from *Beschrijvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt* [etc.], published by Joost Hartgers, at Amsterdam, in 1651; from the original work in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building). It represents New Amsterdam as it appeared about 1630. We have reversed the original engraving to give it its correct topographical situation, for reasons first made known by J. H. Innes, in *New Amsterdam and its People*. New York, 1902, pp. 2, 3.

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Reproduced from original copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

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Reproduced from photograph of the original engraved portrait at Ombersley Court, England, kindly supplied by the present Baron Sandys who also supplied photographs of portraits of George Sandys and others. He is the present representative of both the Alexander and the Sandys families.

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Photographed from copy in *L'Illustration* in the New York Public Library (Astor Building). The original is a manuscript plan made about 1640 by Joan Vingboons for the Dutch West India Company. It was procured by Henry Harrisse from Frederik Muller, bookseller of Amsterdam, and the earliest reproduction of it, from which later reproductions have been taken, appeared in the French periodical *L'Illustration*, July 2, 1892.

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Based on Valentine's *Manual of the Common Council of New York*. The location of modern streets is indicated for comparison.

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Printed at Antwerp in 1649. Very rare. Reproduced from an original copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Document Signed by Peter Stuyvesant and Van Tienhoven, Secretary 240

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This is a reduced facsimile of the first seal of New Amsterdam. This seal was in use and affixed to all deeds, grants, etc., until the English conquest, 1664. The vessel by which it was sent, arrived early in December, 1654, and on the eighth of the same month, "the Director General delivered to the presiding Burgomaster Mart. Crigier the painted Coat of Arms with *the Seal of New Amsterdam.*"

O'Callaghan says that it "is exceedingly rare; we know not of a duplicate original impression." Since his day at least three original impressions have been found.

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Autograph of Andries Hudde 260

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This is taken from the verso of the title-page of Beauchamp Plantagenet's very rare tract *A Description of the Province of New Albion. Printed in the year 1648.*

This was issued to induce immigration to the settlement of the Plowden grant. From a copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

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From *Nya Swerige.* Reprinted from plate opposite p. 100 of original copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

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This was the name given to it over the original cut in Thomas Campanius Holm's *Nya Swerige.* The fort was Fort Casimir of the Dutch.

Reproduced from p. 76 of original work in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

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Reproduced from plate in Thomas Campanius Holm's *Nya Swerige* at p. 81, with a translation of the key explanatory of the different parts of the plan.

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From an old painting in possession of a present representative of the family.

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Redrawn from a photograph.

Roger Williams's Combination Compass and Sundial 272

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Photographed from the original now owned by the Rhode Island Historical Society, by courtesy of the librarian, Mr. Clarence S. Brigham.

The Original Deed of Providence by Miantonomo and other Chiefs to Roger Williams, 1639 . 275

Photographed from the original in the office of the recorder of deeds, Providence, R. I., by courtesy of Edward C. Joyce, recorder.

The extreme length of the original as it now appears is 9⅛ inches and the extreme width is $7\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

This was a deed of the land upon which the town of Providence was planted. It was recorded for the first time in 1659, *with certain addi-*

tions, said to have been necessary through the mutilation of this original deed, and was recorded a second time in 1662, minus the said additions. The document is a memorandum, evidently confirming a verbal agreement, by which Roger Williams obtained by gift from Canonicus and Miantonomo land upon the Mooshassuck and Woonasquetucket rivers. See bibliographical appendix at the end of this volume (titles 628, 634).

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Reproduced from original copy published in London, 1638, now in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).
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Bronze statue erected in honor of Captain John Mason on Mystic or Pequot Hill, Groton, Conn., in 1889.

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Reproduced from Stiles's *History of Ancient Windsor, Conn.* (Hartford, 1892), vol. 2, opp. p. 473.

Title-page of P. Vincent's *A True Relation of the Late Battell* 318

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From photograph supplied by Mr. Hubert Bruce Fuller.

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Reproduced from T. F. Waters's *A Sketch of the life of John Winthrop the Younger*, in Ipswich Historical Society *Publications*, No. 7 (1899).

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Autograph of Ezekiel Cheever 334

Title-page of *New-Haven's Settling in New-England. And Some Lawes for Government* . . . 335

This is extremely rare, five copies only are known in America and of these, two, at least, lack the title-page. Reproduced from a fine copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

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This charter was engrossed in duplicate. In spite of certain differences, the two copies are essentially alike and both are official. The remnant of one of these, in its original case, is now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society. The other copy, known as the "duplicate charter," is a beautiful parchment in a carved oaken frame. The illustration herewith given was reproduced from a photograph of this copy. In 1902, the framed duplicate was transferred from the office of the secretary of state to a special safe in the State Library.

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Photographed by kind permission from Dr. Samuel A. Green's collection, and redrawn in exact size of originals.
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Reproduced from facsimile in Worthington C. Ford's *Mary Dyer: Quaker. Two Letters of William Dyer of Rhode Island, 1659–1660*, printed in 1902.

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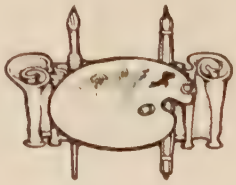


SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CHRONOLOGY

OLD STYLE AND NEW STYLE

THE student of American colonial history of the seventeenth century is likely to be frequently perplexed by a confusion (and sometimes by an apparent contradiction) of dates unless he understands and keeps in mind the differences between the "old style" and the "new style" calendars. The ordinary year represents the mean time required for the earth to pass over its orbit around the sun. This passage requires 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 46+ seconds. As only whole days can be counted in measuring the ordinary or civil year, the fractional parts of the day make a difference between the civil and the solar periods. To remedy this difference and to secure uniformity in time-reckoning, Julius Cæsar decreed (B. C. 46) that the year should consist of 365 days and six hours, that the six hours should be disregarded for three successive years, and that an entire day should be added to every fourth year. This day is called the intercalary day and the year to which it is added is called the bissextile or leap year. Such was the origin of the Julian calendar. Dates reckoned according to the Julian calendar are called "old style," abbreviated to O. S. The old style is still used in the Russian Empire.

But the addition of the intercalary day made the average Julian year a little more than eleven minutes longer than the solar year and, by 1582, the cumulative error of the calendar was about ten days. In the year 325, the council of Nice, the first of the ecumenical councils of the Christian church, had determined when Easter should be observed. In 1582, all fixed ecclesiastical

observances were falling ten days behind their proper seasons. To correct this error and to remove the consequent confusion, Pope Gregory XIII. decreed that the fifth day of October, 1582, should be called the fifteenth. This suppression of ten days restored the vernal equinox to the twenty-first of March, the date on which it occurred at the time of the council of Nice, and thus brought into their proper seasons the fixed festivals of of the church. To guard against future errors, it was decreed that years ending with two ciphers should not be leap years except when the number is an exact multiple of 400. Such was the origin of the Gregorian calendar, the error of which is only one day in about five thousand years. Dates reckoned according to the Gregorian calendar are called "new style," abbreviated to N. S. From 1582 to 1700, the difference between the old style and the new was ten days. The year 1700 being a leap year in the Julian calendar and a common year in the Gregorian calendar, the two styles differed, in the eighteenth century, by eleven days. In similar manner, the year 1800 again increased the difference, so that in the nineteenth century the two styles were twelve days apart. For the present century and the twenty-first, the difference between the two styles will be thirteen days.

Most Catholic countries adopted the Gregorian calendar soon after it was established. Great Britain, however, continued to use the Julian calendar until 1752. At that time, the dates of the Julian calendar were eleven days behind the dates of the Gregorian calendar. To secure uniformity in dates and time-reckonings, the British parliament decreed that eleven days should be stricken from the calendar and that the day following the second day of September, 1752, should be called the fourteenth. Prior to this time, the official English year began on the twenty-fifth of March, Lady Day or Annunciation, so-called from the common belief that the incarnation of Christ was announced to the Virgin Mary by the angel Gabriel on that day (Luke, i, 26–38). In reckoning the months, March was called the first and February the twelfth,

September, October, November, and December thus having the numerical rank indicated by their names. At the time of the correction of the British calendar in 1752, the beginning of the official year was changed from the twenty-fifth of March to the first of January to conform to the common usage of the greater part of Christendom—a change that had been partly anticipated by writing dates from the first of January to the twenty-fourth of March inclusive as follows: January 8, 1704–05 or January 8, $170\frac{4}{5}$. As usual, English law was conformed to English custom.

By way of illustrating the diversity of common usage, Alexander Brown tells us that a document written on the sixteenth of March, 1612, according to our new style, would have been dated by an Englishman, March 6, 1611; by a Spaniard, March 16, 1612; by a Dutchman, March $\frac{6}{16}$, $16\frac{11}{12}$. To indicate accurately for twentieth century readers the date of a seventeenth century document, without contradicting the testimony of the document itself, the date is nowadays often expressed in both old style and new style terms, as just indicated, or by some similar system of double notation.

According to their English time-reckoning, the Pilgrim Fathers first landed on Plymouth Rock on the eleventh of December, 1620. But the sun, then at its winter solstice, showed the true date to be the twenty-first of December. In other words, the error of the Julian calendar at that time was ten days. When, in the following century, the old style gave way for the new, the error was eleven days and it was easy to make the mistake of correcting all old dates by the addition of eleven days. Consequently, to this day, "Forefathers' Day" is often celebrated on the twenty-second of December instead of the twenty-first.

SOME EUROPEAN RULERS

England

1603–1625 James I. (House of Stuart)
1625–1649 Charles I. (House of Stuart)
1649–1653 Parliament (Commonwealth)
1653–1658 Oliver Cromwell
1658–1659 Richard Cromwell (Protectorate)
1659–1660 Parliamentary and military government
1660–1685 Charles II. (House of Stuart)

Sweden

1604–1611 Charles IX.
1611–1632 Gustavus Adolphus
1632–1654 Christina
1654–1660 Charles X. (Charles Gustavus)

France

1589–1610 Henry IV.
1610–1643 Louis XIII.
1643–1715 Louis XIV.

Spain

1598–1621 Philip III.
1621–1665 Philip IV.

The United Provinces of the Netherlands

At the division of the empire of Charles V., the government of the Netherlands devolved upon Philip II. of Spain. The religious revolt led by Martin Luther had spread widely in the Netherlands and Philip II. resolved to root out the heresy. War began in 1566. In 1579, the seven northern provinces, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Gelderland entered into union. In 1609, Spain agreed to a twelve years' truce. In 1648, by the treaty of Westphalia, Spain formally acknowledged the independence of the United Provinces—an independence that had been stubbornly maintained for nearly seventy years. The chief magistrate was the stadholder. The legislative assembly was the states-general.

1587–1625 Maurice (Prince of Orange, Stadholder)
1625–1647 Frederick Henry (Prince of Orange, Stadholder)
1647–1650 William II. (Prince of Orange, Stadholder)

In 1650, the stadholdership was suspended and the influence of the states-general largely disappeared. The stadholdership was not restored until 1672. The chief political power of the United Provinces passed to the provincial estates of Holland which was composed partly of nobles and partly of deputies of the towns—a commercial aristocracy. In other words, the domination of a person gave way to the domination of a province. So completely did the provincial estates, under the title of "Their High Mightinesses," exercise the supreme power of the republic that, by 1660, "Holland" was, in English usage, practically synonymous with "The United Provinces." The minister of the estates of Holland was known as the grand pensionary.

1653–1672 John DeWitt (Grand Pensionary)

BRIEF SUMMARY OF EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS VOLUME

1602.	Gosnold explores Massachusetts Bay and plants a small colony on Cuttyhunk Island. It remained only two months.
1603.	Champlain's first voyage.
1604.	The French establish a settlement at Port Royal (Annapolis) in Acadia.
1606.	First charter of Virginia granted by King James.
	Virginia company created.
	Expedition of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.
1607.	Virginia begun by the English at Jamestown.
1608.	Champlain lays the foundations of Quebec.
1609.	Champlain discovers Lake Champlain.
	Hudson discovers the Hudson River.
	Second charter of Virginia granted.
1610.	Delaware Bay entered by Lord Delaware, governor of Virginia.
1614.	Manhattan Island settled by the Dutch.
	John Smith explores the coast from Penobscot River to Cape Cod and first names the country New England.
1620.	The landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.
1622.	Grant to Mason and Gorges.
1626.	Peter Minuit purchases the Island of Manhattan for about the equivalent of twenty-four dollars.
1629.	Mason and Gorges divide their grant into New Hampshire and Maine.
1630.	The Puritan Colony begun at Massachusetts Bay.
1632.	Maryland charter granted to Lord Baltimore.
1634.	Maryland settled at Saint Marys.
1635.	Connecticut settled by emigrants from Massachusetts.
1636.	Harvard College founded.
	Roger Williams begins Rhode Island.
1637.	The Pequot War.
1638.	New Haven Colony founded.
	Swedes under Peter Minuit first settle in Delaware.
1639.	Connecticut frames the first written constitution in America.
1643.	New Haven Colony organized.
	New England Confederation organized.
	The Narragansett Patent.
1644.	The Providence Plantations Patent.
1649.	The Maryland "Toleration Act."
1650–51.	British "Navigation Acts."
1655.	The Swedes on the Delaware are conquered by the Dutch under Stuyvesant.
1656.	The Quakers expelled from Massachusetts.
1662.	Connecticut charter granted.

A History of the United States and its People

THE COLONIES: 1600–1660

CHAPTER I

CHAMPLAIN AND NEW FRANCE

1600–1635

WE have already studied the efforts and failures of Cartier and others to establish a New France in the Saint Lawrence country, and traced the tragic story of the Huguenots at Port Royal and on the River of May. Although both Catholic and Protestant had failed, Frenchmen continued to visit the new lands. In 1578, there were a hundred and fifty French fishing vessels off Newfoundland, and temporary settlements at Anticosti and at other points on the Saint Lawrence Gulf. In 1590 came the battle that gave peace to France.

> Hurrah! Hurrah! A single field hath turned the chance of war,
> Hurrah! Hurrah! for Ivry and Henry of Navarre.

1594

Henry IV. proclaimed a general pardon and the purpose of founding a French empire in America was renewed.

La Roche

In 1598, the Marquis de la Roche obtained from the French king a commission that authorized him to undertake almost anything and made him lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, and adjacent lands that included Maine and Nova Scotia. In that year, he sailed with a ship-load of convicts. As his navigator became confused in the fogs and the marquis wished to go ahead to discover a mainland site, the wretched forty were landed on Sable Island, ninety miles southeast of Cape Canso; they were soon worse off than they had been in their dungeons. From various causes, La Roche was unable to return to the island and made his way back across the ocean—an apparent desertion. In

France, he was so unfortunate that he had to abandon his enterprise in America. A few years later, the survivors of the little colony were taken back to France and pardoned.

Pontgravé

In the year 1600, François Gravé, sieur du Pont (usually called Pontgravé), a merchant mariner of Saint Malo who had already sailed up the Saint Lawrence as far as Three Rivers, associated with himself Pierre Chauvin, a rich merchant who enjoyed the favor of the king, and Pierre du Guast, a wealthy Huguenot better known to history as the Sieur de Monts. With the approval of the king, the partners outfitted four vessels, embarked with about a hundred men, crossed the ocean, and ascended the Saint Lawrence to the mouth of the Saguenay where a storehouse was built, the beginning of the settlement of Tadoussac. Leaving sixteen men, most of whom died in the following winter, the party returned to France. The profitable traffic was kept up until the end of 1602,

Map Illustrating the Period of Champlain (With map of the Huron country in corner)

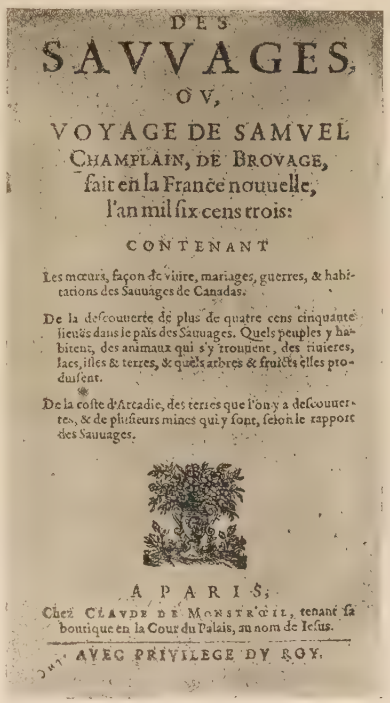
soon after which Chauvin died and his privileges were given to another.

De Chastes and Champlain

The beneficiary of Chauvin's death was Aymar de Chastes, the governor of Dieppe. In command of two

ships provided by De Chastes and his partners, Pontgravé sailed from Honfleur; with him went Samuel de Champlain, the most conspicuous character in the early history of Canada. Although little more than thirty years of age, Champlain had served in the army and had visited the West Indies and made good use of his opportunity to study and record the doings of the Spaniards. In New France he was to carry out upon a larger scale the enterprises projected by Jacques Cartier. He examined anew the shores of the Saint Lawrence to the Lachine rapids, surveyed the lower Saguenay, trafficked with the Indians, won their friendship, and returned to France where he heard of the death of De Chastes. Champlain's account of his voyage, made by virtue of his appointment as geographer to the king, reawakened public interest and gave a fresh impetus to business enterprise. It was the earliest printed account of New France.

March 15, 1603


DES
SAVVAGES,
OV,
VOYAGE DE SAMVEL
CHAMPLAIN, DE BROVAGE,
fait en la France nouuelle,
l'an mil six cens trois:
CONTENANT
Les mœurs, façon de viure, mariages, guerres, & habitations des Sauuages de Canadas.
De la descouuerte de plus de quatre cens cinquante lieuës dans le païs des Sauuages. Quels peuples y habitent, des animaux qui s'y trouuent, des riuieres, lacs, isles & terres, & quels arbres & fruicts elles produisent.
De la coste d'Arcadie, des terres que l'on y a descouuertes, & de plusieurs mines qui y sont, selon le rapport des Sauuages.
A PARIS,
Chez CLAVDE DE MONSTR'ŒIL, tenant sa boutique en la Cour du Palais, au nom de Iesus.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

Title-page of Champlain's *Des Sauvages*, 1604

September 20, 1603

Before the end of the year, the Sieur de Monts was appointed lieutenant-general of Acadia with viceregal powers and a monopoly of the fur trade. This term, Acadia, is one of the most indefinite of historical geography, but the letters patent granted to De Monts included all of America from the latitude of Philadelphia to the northern end of Nova Scotia (40° to 46° north latitude). Of De Monts's one hundred and twenty men, several were noblemen, some were soldiers, and

De Monts and Acadia

November 8, 1603

Poutrincourt

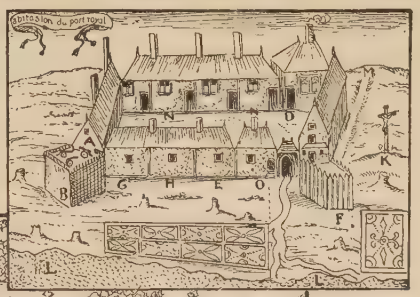
two-thirds were colonists; "gentlemen, artisans, and vagabonds." Among them was Baron Jean de Poutrincourt, nobleman and soldier, rich and energetic, and filled with the spirit of enterprise. Some were Huguenots, some were Catholics, and Champlain again was geographer to the king. In their small, well-laden ships, they sailed from France in April, 1604, and reached Acadia in May. Pontgravé went at once into the fur trade and Champlain as promptly began his work as explorer and geographer. In June, the ships were anchored at Port Royal, now called Annapolis, on the western coast of Nova Scotia. The beautiful harbor pleased the Sieur de Poutrincourt who obtained permission to establish himself there. De Monts sailed around the Bay of Fundy and began a settlement on the rocky islet known as Dochet Island, at the mouth of the Saint Croix River, the eastern boundary of Maine. At this time there was no English settlement in America.

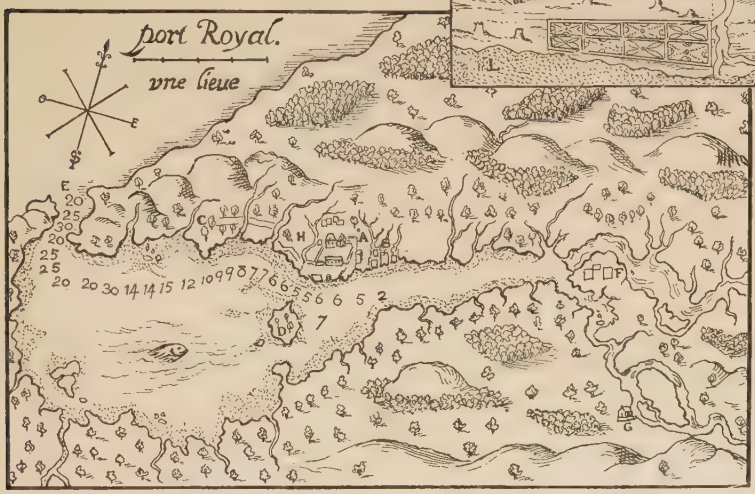
Map of the Bay of Fundy (Illustrating the period of Champlain)

A Coast Survey

Champlain spent three summers in a survey of the coast from the eastern end of Nova Scotia to the southern shores of Massachusetts. The intervening winters were employed in making local maps and a general chart. While Champlain was thus studying the New England coast in the interest of France, Captain John Smith (robust

English name) was exploring the Chesapeake to find an easy passage to the western sea. Meantime, scurvy and winter rigors had laid heavy hands upon the little settlement at the mouth of





Champlain's Map of Port Royal and View of Fort

(*The Map:* A, the Settlement; B, Garden; C, Road; D, Island; E, Mouth of River; F, Cornfields; G, the First Mill; H, Road constructed by Champlain.
The Fort: A, Workingmen's Dwelling; B, Platform for Cannon; D, Residence of Champlain; E, Forge; F, Palisade; G, Bakehouse; H, Kitchen; K, Cemetery; L, River; M, Moat; N, Residence of De Monts; O, Ship's Storehouse.)

the Saint Croix and the colony was transferred to the less exposed Port Royal. De Monts returned to France, whence, in May, 1607, he announced the revocation of his patent and recalled the expedition. The colonists were back at Saint Malo by October. A year later, this French failure in

Acadia Abandoned

Dochet (Saint Croix) Island (Showing by dotted lines old coastline and settlement of De Monts and Champlain)

Champlain's Map of Plymouth Harbor

Acadia was closely imitated by the English Popham colony in Maine. Poutrincourt returned to Port Royal in 1610; the deserted houses were reoccupied but Acadia did not prosper. In 1613, the notorious Captain Samuel Argall from Virginia broke up the settlement at Mount Desert, destroyed the buildings at Saint Croix and at Port Royal, killed the cattle, and loaded his three ships with plunder.

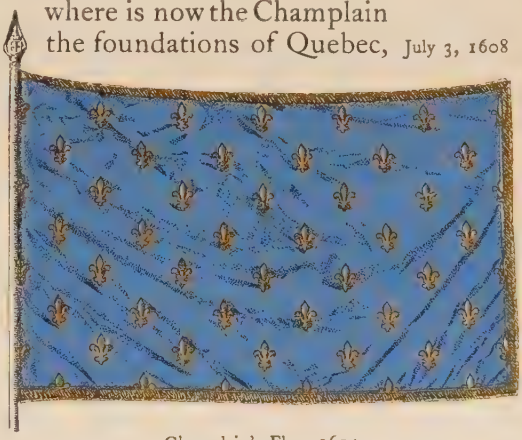
Montmorency Falls

In January, 1608, the French king renewed De Monts's monopoly of the fur trade for a year on condition that an attempt should be made to penetrate further into the interior of the continent—there were lingering hopes of finding the coveted way to India. The command of two ships was given to Pontgravé and Champlain was made lieutenant-governor. They sailed from Honfleur in April; in early June, both were at Tadoussac, the anchorage

and trading station at the mouth of the Saguenay. Knowing the dangers of navigating the Saint Lawrence above that point, Champlain here built a shallop in which, at the end of June, he continued his exploration. A few miles beyond the "feathery confusion" to which five years before he had given the name of Montmorency, he approached a rocky promontory between the Saint Lawrence and the Saint Charles, a small stream flowing from the northwest. Quebec

> And such a site whereon to plant the tree
> Of rising empire! Holds this varied world
> No peer to its majestic beauty.

Hemmed in between the cliff in the rear and the magnificent basin into which both rivers flow was a strip of fertile land covered with a luxurious growth of trees. On this narrow plain, where is now the Champlain market, Champlain laid the foundations of Quebec, and hoisted the French flag over the first permanent French settlement in America. There were then a few Spaniards at Saint Augustine and a few Englishmen at Jamestown. July 3, 1608



Champlain's Flag, 1604

On the eighteenth of September, Pontgravé sailed for France. The horrors of the winter for the little colony that he left behind were too sickening for recital. Before he returned with provisions and men in the following June, twenty of the men were dead and half of the other eight were broken in health. In that fearful winter, Champlain heard from the Indians around Quebec of the beauty of a lake that lay between them and the country of the Iroquois, and promised that if they would lead him in an exploration in that direction he would fight against their enemies if any were encountered. Famine 1609

Champlain and the Iroquois

The Indian population that Cartier had found at Quebec and Montreal had disappeared and others, widely different in language and customs, had taken their place. Champlain's new colony was planted among the Montagnais, an Algonquian tribe. Further toward the setting sun was the country of the Hurons, a tribe of Iroquoian stock but now the special objects of Iroquoian enmity. As the Hurons were his friends Champlain made their enemies his enemies. In 1609, he and two French arquebusiers went upon the war-path with an expedition of Huron and Algonquian tribes against the Five Nations of northern New York. Here, as ever, we find History leaning heavily on the arm of her sister. From the Saint Lawrence to New York Bay extends a deep valley, through half of which the waters flow northward, while the Hudson beautifies the lower half. From this time on, this natural open way plays an important part in American history. Champlain ascended the Sorel or Richelieu River and, in the country between the Green Mountains and the Adirondacks, discovered the lake that is the most beautiful monument to his memory. Near the site of Ticonderoga, on the borders of the lake they met the Iroquois with three chiefs leading. The allies advanced, and when within a few hundred feet of the enemy, opened their ranks to allow Champlain to pass to the front. His arquebus or short musket was loaded with four balls and he took careful aim. Two of the chieftains fell to rise no more and another of the enemy was badly wounded. When one of Champlain's French companions fired a second shot, the Iroquois turned in flight. After the gathering of their booty and the performance of the customary dance, the victors floated

July 30, 1609

An Iroquois Warrior
(From base of Maisonneuve monument at Montreal)

down the lake on their homeward voyage. Champlain was not able to prevent the usual treatment of the prisoners of war. He had ingratiated himself with his dusky

Champlain's Defeat of the Iroquois

neighbors and won the long-enduring enmity of the ablest warriors of the Indian race. The surprise caused by Champlain's arquebus soon vanished. The season had not passed before Henry Hudson cast anchor within Sandy Hook, ascended the river that bears his name, and thus opened the way for the fifty years' rivalry that the Dutch maintained against both French and English. The Dutch sold guns to the Mohawks and the course of Indian warfare was materially changed thereby. The French were not slow to follow the example and, in the end, did more than any other European people to train their red allies to military skill.

Dutch Rivalry
September 3, 1609

Soon after his return to Quebec, Champlain went to France and submitted to the king an account of his adventures. The following spring found him and Pontgravé once more in Canada with fresh supplies. As the establishment at Quebec was a private enterprise, the commercial supervision of which rested upon Pontgravé, Champlain had abundant opportunity for exploration and adventure. In June, 1610, he set out with the Indian allies

The Iroquois Again Defeated

April 26, 1610

to seek again the camp of the Iroquois. The attack was successful, not an Iroquois escaped. It was the second of a series of lessons by which "French and Indian" were

Champlain's Attack on the Iroquois Fort

made a dream of dread and a vision of horror. Returning with the allies from the destruction of the Iroquois fort and the annihilation of its garrison, Champlain began the practice of keeping young Frenchmen in the homes of the Indians to learn their language and the countless details of their life. It is probable that the "young lad" sent among the Hurons for this purpose was Etienne (Stephen) Brulé. At the same time an Indian was sent over sea. Both representatives became interpreters. In August, Champlain sailed for France where he arrived on the twenty-seventh of September. Meanwhile, Ravaillac had killed the king and robbed the Huguenots of their protector. For a time it seemed as if New France again was doomed.

Brulé

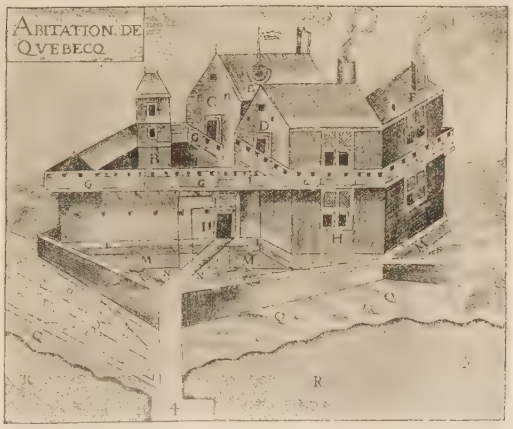
French and Indian 1611

About this time, Jesuit priests arrived and began their efforts for the conversion of the natives. The religion of the French was very different from the fanaticism of the Spaniards. The Frenchmen made the Indian welcome in their homes and married Indian wives with

stately ceremonial of the church. As Colonel T. W. Higginson has pointed out, their officers taught the Indian how to fight, their priests taught him how to die; they won his heart by the same allurements that make the Paris of today the Mecca of the world, a joyous outdoor life and an unequaled cookery. The story is on record of a dying Indian convert who asked if he might expect the heavenly pastry to be equal to that of the French. A few decades later, Frontenac, the courtly governor-general of Canada, did not disdain to lead in the war-dance, followed by stripped and painted braves with demoniac motion and "shouting like men possessed." Imagination defiantly rebels when we try to repeat the picture with De Soto or Myles Standish in the center. Parkman says that Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him.

Reorganization December 30, 1610

Soon after his return to France, Champlain was married. The dower of his bride enabled him to take a personal interest in the commercial features of his colony. In 1611, he made a brief visit to the Saint Lawrence. Near the site of Montreal and with an eye on prospective profits, he met his Indian allies with whom he exchanged the hostages given the year before and bartered for furs. He heard of the great western lakes and, at the end of summer, returned to France. For the remainder of



The Fort at Quebec

(B, Dovecote; C, Workmen's Lodgings and Armory; D, Lodgings for Mechanics; E, Dial; F, Blacksmith's Shop and Workmen's Lodgings; G, Galleries; H, Champlain's Residence; I, Gate and Drawbridge; L, Walk; M, Moat; N, Platform for Cannon; O, Garden; Q, Vacant Space; R, Saint Lawrence River.)

that year and all of the next, he was occupied with the details of the reorganization of the company that controlled the enterprise. De Monts withdrew all interest, new letters patent were issued, the Prince of Condé became the viceroy or presiding officer, and, in the following year, Champlain returned to Quebec.

November 13, 1612

May 7, 1613

Vignau's Deceit

A year or two before, Champlain had sent Nicholas de Vignau to spend the winter among the Algonkins. Vignau proved to be something of a romancer and reported that he had gone up the Ottawa River to a lake which by another outlet led him to the shores of a salt sea where he had seen the wreck of an English ship. Wasting little time in preparation, Champlain and his companions (including Vignau) paddled or poled their canoes up the Ottawa for more than two hundred miles. At the village where Vignau had spent his winter and beyond which he had never gone, Champlain asked for an escort to the salt sea. The deceit was quickly exposed and Champlain and his party returned with eighty Indian canoes on their way to the annual barter at Montreal. He sailed from Tadoussac on the eighth of July and arrived at Saint Malo on the twenty-sixth of August, 1613. The year 1614 he spent in France, strengthening the company of merchants, and planning for the success of the colony and the conversion of the Indians.

The Recollet Missions

April 24, 1615

Champlain sailed again from France in a vessel commanded by Pontgravé and accompanied by Catholic missionaries, Recollects of the Franciscan order. The ship was at Quebec in May, a chapel was quickly built, and, on the fifteenth of June, the priests celebrated their first mass. Jean d'Olbeau promptly began a mission among the Montagnais and Joseph le Caron was soon on his way to the Hurons. Having strengthened his alliance with the Saint Lawrence Indians, Champlain ascended the Ottawa, followed the bed of the post-glacial channel to Lake Nipissing, and by the French River entered Georgian Bay. At the Huron villages, he found Le Caron and heard that the Andastes Indians, who lived beyond the Iroquois country, might be induced to join in an attack on

July, 1615

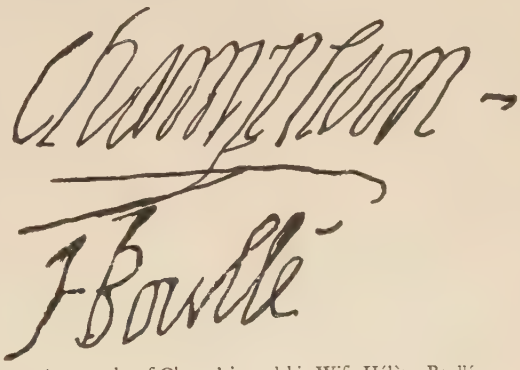
the formidable confederacy. He therefore sent his interpreter to the Andastes villages. Brulé made the trip in safety but failed to bring up expected reinforcements. North of the great lake, Champlain's force increased, the barbarian warriors coming in from every direction. According to one account, they crossed Lake Simcoe in their bark canoes, made a short portage to the head waters of the Trent River, and by its zigzag channel floated into Lake Ontario. Passing from island to island at the eastern end of the lake they landed in what is now New York and set out overland to attack the enemy. On the tenth of October, they found the palisaded village at Lake Onondaga. This rude fortification, the exact locality of which has been much discussed, successfully resisted the Indian allies, Champlain, and his firearms. After repeated assaults and a siege of several days, the assailants abandoned the enterprise and retreated ignominiously from the Iroquois country. Champlain was wounded and spent the following winter with the Hurons studying their character and habits. Having retraced his circuitous route, he arrived again at Quebec, after an absence of nearly a year. He soon returned to France.

The Huron and Algonkin Host

July 11, 1616

Champlain made frequent visits to Canada where, in 1618, he again met Brulé. When Brulé and the Andastes approached the stronghold of the Iroquois in 1615, they heard that Champlain and the Hurons had come and gone, and made a prompt retreat. After passing the winter with the Andastes, Brulé went down the Susquehanna to Chesapeake Bay. It is thought that he was the first European to enter what is now known as Pennsylvania and that he subsequently pushed his explorations westward to the shores of Lake Superior. In 1619,

Brulé's Exploration



Autographs of Champlain and his Wife Hélène Boullé

Champlain obtained a license to print a new book. His drawings were engraved and helped to make the publication a commercial success. In 1620, the duke of Montmorency became viceroy of the company and renewed Champlain's commission. Champlain soon returned to Quebec accompanied by his wife. The French occupancy of Canada continued to be of a purely mercantile character and the population was scarcely ever more than a few score. Under thoroughly discouraging conditions, Champlain did the best that any man could do. After nearly four years of such experience, he and his wife left Quebec for France. The duke of Montmorency sold his viceroyalty to the duke of Ventadour and Champlain was commissioned as the new viceroy's representative. In June, 1625, Charles Lalemant, Jean de Brébeuf, Enemond Massé, and two other Jesuit missionaries appeared at Quebec and, amid the dissensions that their coming created, began their historic labors. The next winter was one of famine; in the following summer Champlain returned. Quebec was a successful trading-post and an unsuccessful colony.

A Feeble Colony

August, 1624

February 15, 1625

July 5, 1626

Richelieu in Power

A new spirit was now dominating and animating France. Cardinal Richelieu dissolved the old Canadian company and organized "La Compagnie de la Nouvelle France," better known as the Company of the Hundred Associates. Their empire was modestly described as "New France or Canada from Florida to the Arctic Circle, from New Foundland as far west as they might carry the Gallic name." Canada needed colonists, but Henry IV. was dead and Canada was not to be a harbor for Protestants. Henceforth, the Calvinist was to be excluded from New France

Triple Portrait of Cardinal Richelieu

with a rigor like that with which, centuries later, an alleged "yellow peril" was turned back from the doors of the great republic. The new charter was approved by Richelieu in camp before Rochelle, the last of the Huguenot strongholds, and by the new king in the following May. By this time, Frenchmen had begun to turn to their over-sea dominions with an imaginative hope "that the continent of promise would renew in France the glories that were Greece and the grandeur that was Rome." In April, 1628, a fleet with emigrants and stores and artillery sailed under command of Claude de Roquemont for Quebec. The eighteen transports were under convoy of four armed vessels and safely entered the Saint Lawrence.

April 29, 1627

At this time, the Dutch had a prosperous colony at the mouth of the Hudson and the English were daily growing stronger at Virginia, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay. The fresh vigor of the French on the Saint Lawrence awakened the jealousy of their hereditary foe. Several years earlier than this the council for New England had granted to Sir William Alexander the territory east of the Saint Croix River, from the Saint Lawrence to the sea. The patent was subsequently confirmed by King James "to be holden of us from our kingdom of Scotland as a part thereof." This New Scotland or Nova Scotia had been included in the patent of 1603 granted by the French king to De Monts. Between the lines of the English patent, the French easily read the English purpose. England having declared war against France, an English armed fleet was sent against Quebec. The chief supporters of the enterprise were Sir William Alexander and a Derbyshire gentleman by the name of Kirke. The fur trade was tempting and Canada was to be conquered as a speculation. David, the half-French son of Kirke of Derbyshire, was made admiral of the fleet and took with him letters of marque from the English king. He outsailed Roquemont, landed a colony in Nova Scotia, swept the French vessels from the Saint Lawrence, and summoned Quebec to surrender. Champlain masked his weakness

Admiral Kirke

September 10, 1621

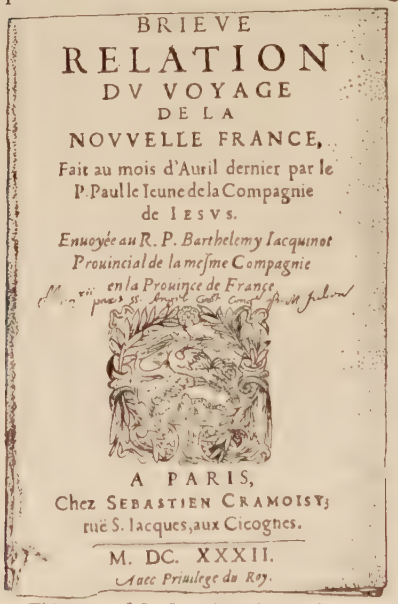
with a courteous defiance and Kirke's squadron dropped down to the mouth of the Saguenay. Meanwhile, from the lower river, Roquemont had sent a messenger to notify Champlain of his coming. The messenger was quickly followed to Quebec by the news that the French fleet had been lost. Rich in booty and satisfied with the glory of having sunk or captured every one of the French ships, Kirke turned his back on Quebec and convoyed his prizes into English waters.

Surrender and Restitution of Quebec

The loss of supplies consequent upon Roquemont's defeat entailed great suffering upon Champlain and his colony. During the following winter "there was little to eat and by spring this little became nothing." In the following summer, Kirke's squadron reappeared. Supplies had not been sent and Quebec's surrender was again demanded. The next day, the English flag floated from the fortress. France had now no post in North America; from Manhattan to the frozen north England had no rival. But the war had been ended and the treaty of peace provided that all captures made after the fourteenth of April should be restored. After annoying delays, Quebec was given back to the French on the thirteenth of July, 1632. With Quebec went Canada, Cape Breton, and the undefined Acadia. In August, Paul le Jeune, one of the newly arrived Jesuit missionaries, wrote to the provincial of his order in France the first of a series of letters known as the *Jesuit Relations*.

July 20, 1629

April 24, 1629, new style


BRIEVE
RELATION
DV VOYAGE
DE LA
NOVVELLE FRANCE,
Fait au mois d'Auril dernier par le P. Paul le Ieune de la Compagnie de IESVS.
Enuoyée au R. P. Barthelemy Iacquinot Prouincial de la mesme Compagnie en la Prouince de France.
A PARIS,
Chez SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, ruë S. Iacques, aux Cicognes.
M. DC. XXXII.
Auec Priuilege du Roy.

Title-page of Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1632

The *Jesuit Relations*

As governor of Canada and the representative of Rich-

elieu, Champlain was enthusiastically received on his return to Quebec in May, 1633. At this time, the European population of Canada numbered scarcely more than sixty and most of these were transient adventurers. The English living about Massachusetts Bay were permanently settled and outnumbered the Canadian French more than a thousand to a score. The Iroquois were ever active and the English were aggressive, but Champlain soon learned not to expect much more assistance from the new company than he had received from the old. In July, he sent an expedition to build a fort and to make a settlement at Three Rivers, midway between Quebec and the site of Montreal. Brébeuf and other Jesuit priests went on a mission among the Hurons and Jean Nicolet set out on his course of western exploration. In 1618, Champlain had sent Nicolet among the Indians to prepare him for "the solution of serious geographical and ethnological riddles;" the task at which he now set him. Going up the Ottawa and by Lake Nipissing to Georgian Bay, Nicolet found familiar faces and secured Huron guides. Paddling their bark canoes along the shores of bay and lake, they came to the Sault Sainte Marie. In spite of the claim for Brulé, it is probable that Nicolet was the first of Europeans to set foot on Michigan soil. It is not certain that he saw the great lake above the rapids. From the Sault, Nicolet and his companions coasted along the northern peninsula of Michigan to the Straits of Mackinac whence they passed on to Green Bay and pushed up the Fox River. If Nicolet had gone a little further, he might have crossed the low divide and floated his canoes down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi and thus have won the laurel that was later plucked by Jolliet and Marquette. It is believed by some that he saw the site of Chicago and the prairies of Illinois. It is probable that, in the early summer of 1635, he left his Huron guides at their homes and joined the flotilla that came down the Ottawa with furs. He arrived at Three Rivers in July, 1635, having journeyed from Georgian Bay to the country of the Winnebagoes, two thousand miles in an unknown region, one

Robust Neighbors

Nicolet

of the great explorations known to history. His name is now borne by post-villages and counties in the state of Minnesota and the province of Quebec.

The Earliest American College

The Jesuits had already prepared the foundation of a college in Quebec and, in December, 1635, the project was carried out. It was not until the following year that the legislature of Massachusetts agreed to give four hundred pounds toward the school that developed into Harvard College, the oldest educational institution in the United States. Charlevoix says that the importance of the new establishment was generally recognized and that nothing could have been more seasonable for the progress of the colony. But the joy was soon clouded by deep sorrow.

Death of Champlain

Medal Struck in 1904 to Commemorate the Champlain Tercentenary

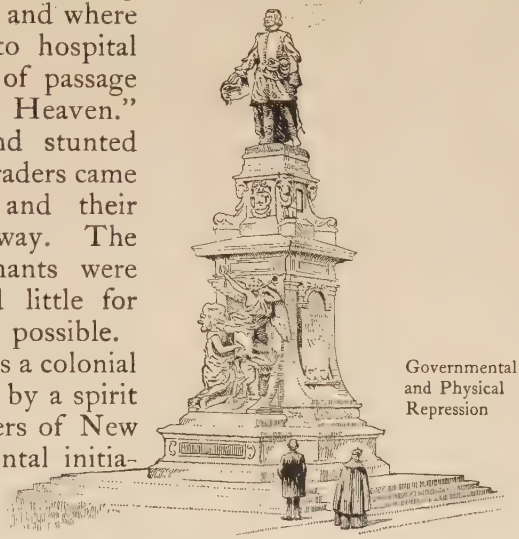
For many years Champlain had been the life, the soul, everything, everywhere, laboring with Franciscan monks and Jesuits to Christianize the Indians, to make and keep them good allies, overcoming difficulties, burying disasters, and wisely laying the foundations of the French empire in America. But the end was near at hand. In October, 1635, he was stricken with paralysis; on Christmas Day, the "Father of New France" died.

> *Sans peur et sans reproche*—thou—blest of God!
> Thy name still dwells unsullied. Never spot
> Of greed, or cowardice, or lust, or hate
> Stained thy white scutcheon. Swiftly sped thy soul
> Up the dread circles, where the healing flames
> Purge out the lingering dross and make men pure
> To bear the garments of the searching light
> In courts of heavenly glory. Worthy, thou,
> To be a nation's founder!

A Dull Chrysalis

Champlain was buried in the country that he had created. There were tears and sorrow on that rocky promontory where twenty-seven years before he had hoisted the flag of La Belle France. With intrepidity and rare zeal, he had labored for the empire of which he dreamed. He

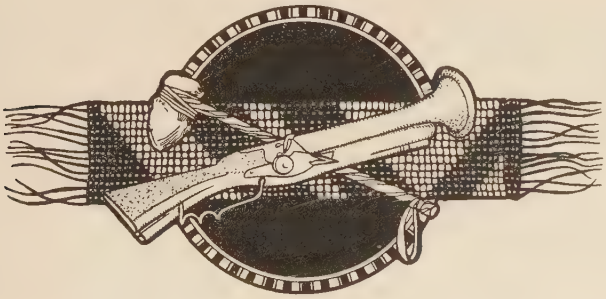
left a fortress on the cliff, and along the strand a few unsightly houses that sheltered a scant two hundred, among which fur-traders bartered, whence priests went forth to wander in the wilderness, and where nuns flitted from cabin to hospital "barely more than birds of passage alighted on the way to Heaven." Trade had supported and stunted Quebec. Every summer traders came from France, but they and their loaded ships soon sailed away. The company and the merchants were seeking profits and cared little for those who rendered profits possible.



The Champlain Monument at Quebec

Governmental and Physical Repression

Back of the company was a colonial policy that was dominated by a spirit of absolutism. The settlers of New France had no governmental initiative; they had a love of adventure, a missionary spirit, and a special adaptation to the fur trade—little else. Living north of the maize belt and without any great staple like tobacco, with a bleak climate and a stubborn glaciated soil, they were sadly handicapped by their physical condition. It therefore is not strange that we find them lagging numerically and economically far behind the English colonists further south. In June, 1636, Charles Hault de Montmagny, a knight of Malta, arrived as Champlain's successor.



CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF A COLONIAL SYSTEM

The Curia Regis

THE British sovereign has always had a body of official advisers; at no time could he legally act in public matters without such counsel. The magnates assembled by the old feudal monarchs on special occasions and by special writs constituted the great council of the realm. In course of time, this body surrendered its most important functions to parliament. The chief advisers of the crown, officials who were continuously near the king, constituted a smaller permanent council, which in later years became the privy council. Under the Norman and early Plantagenet kings, this *curia regis* or king's court consisted of the chancellor, lord treasurer, and other great officers of state, the two archbishops, and ten or fifteen other persons, all chosen by the king. In this permanent council, the king could do nearly every act that he could perform when in council with the larger number of his nobles, except to impose taxes on those nobles. As the administrative system that is called the British constitution gradually took on definite form, the council tended more and more to become a separate assembly of paid officials, bound by a particular oath to "advise the king according to the best of their cunning and discretion," to keep the king's counsel secret, and to help in the execution of plans and projects agreed upon.

1377–1399 By the time of Richard II., much of the early vagueness had passed away, and the *curia regis* had branched out in various directions and ceased to exist in its old form. All

the king's courts were then called *curiæ regis*, each having its distinguishing addition. Thus the king's bench was called the court of the king before the king himself; the common bench, the court of the king before his justices, etc.

Evolution

At first, the word parliament had not the precise meaning that it has in our time; it was often synonymous with the house of lords. For many purposes the king sat "in his council in his parliament," as the phrase ran from the time of Edward I. to that of Edward III. The meaning was that he sat with the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, barons of the exchequer, and other experts in the house of lords. This really was the old *curia regis* preparing itself for a vital change, for although the two sat together when parliament was sitting, the council was distinguished from the parliament. This definite separation of council from parliament took place in the reign of Richard II., and was a great event in the history of the English constitution.

1272–1377

The Privy Council

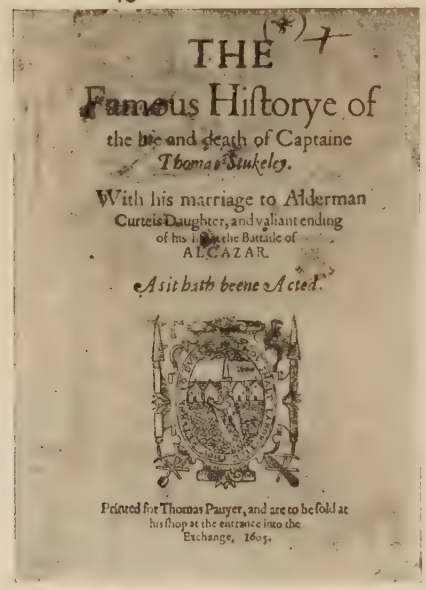
As the council gradually increased in power, its business became an extraordinary combination of executive, legislative, and judicial functions. Still it had no claim to independent authority. Its existence hung upon the king's pleasure; it was dissolved, *ipso facto*, by the king's death; it acted at all times in his name, sometimes "with a scrupulosity which reaches the height of pedantic absurdity." Thus Henry VI., then five years of age, was made to assure the chancellor that "if we are negligent in learning, or commit any fault, we give our cousin (the earl of Warwick) full power, authority, license, *and direction to chastise us*, from time to time, according to his discretion, without being impeded or molested by us or any other person in future for so doing." The chancellor was the president of the council, and one of his duties was to affix the great seal to writs and royal grants.

The First English Colonizers

In a period that was nearly conterminous with the seventeenth century, Englishmen were planting colonies in America, and English statesmen (often unconsciously) were fixing the policy that was to control the relations

between the mother state and her far-distant plantations. As we shall see, this strange, new thing, English colonization, took on the successive phases of an interesting puzzle, a knotty problem, and a disruptive tragedy. Under Queen Elizabeth, a would-be English Pizarro

1563


THE
Famous Historye of
the life and death of Captaine
Thomas Stukeley.
With his marriage to Alderman
Curtis Daughter, and valiant ending
of his life at the Battaile of
ALCAZAR.
As it hath beene Acted.
Printed for Thomas Pauyer, and are to be sold at
his shop at the entrance into the
Exchange, 1605.

Title-page of *The Famous Historye . . . . of Captaine Thomas Stukeley*

named Thomas Stukeley planned, with the sanction of the crown, an expedition for the colonization of Florida, a term then vaguely applied to the territory north of the Gulf of Mexico. The proposed colonizing degenerated into buccaneering, and anticipated by a few years the semi-public, semi-private war that Hawkins, Cavendish, and Drake waged upon Spain. Close on the heels of the Florida scheme came Sir Humphrey Gilbert's projects and Ralegh's losses, as if to show how closely intermingled were the nobler and the meaner aspects of that age.

The First English Colony

In 1606, King James granted the first Virginia charter, and the great movement for the English colonization of America was fairly begun. The motive that prompted the movement was primarily economic, and largely a zealous longing for the treasures of gold and silver that were supposed to burden the soil of the New World. This was an epoch of great commercial expansion throughout western Europe. In England, merchant adventurers and religious refugees soon thronged the avenues that royal favor for a few had opened, and some more systematic administration of the growing business became a necessity. As English colonies with charters granted by the

crown grew up in America, a new field for the activities of the privy council was developed. The colonial legislatures were made subject to the control of the king "in council," the court of last resort in all contested matters. Before long, the continued growth of the colonies forced the council to create committees and boards for the consideration and determination of many of the issues involved. For example, by 1623, the Virginia government was manifesting such democratic tendencies that King James instructed the privy council to appoint a special commission of seven members to consider all patents, charters, commissions, etc., with a view to ascertaining whether any had been violated. Basing its action upon the report of this commission, the privy council ordered the Virginia company to give up its charter. The king was determined that Virginia should not again pass from his control, and the business of the colony was put into the hands of a privy council committee. In 1631, another commission was appointed with powers much like those of the commission of 1623. Its recommendation that the Virginia charter be renewed was not adopted. The story will be told more fully in later chapters; we now are peering ahead to the end that those chapters may be better understood.

Colonial Control

James I. of England

June 24, 1624

In the third decade of the century, the still growing importance of the English colonies led to the appointment of a permanent commission consisting of Archbishop Laud and eleven other high officials. It was the proclaimed policy of Charles I. to subject his realm and his dominions to royal dictation. The Laud commission was

The Laud Commission

April 28, 1634

therefore granted the sovereign powers of making laws and ordinances for the government of the English colonies, and of hearing and determining complaints from them; of removing and appointing officers; of inflicting punishment even to imprisonment and death; of establishing ecclesiastical courts and providing for the clergy; of judging of the validity of all patents and charters; and of revoking those unduly or surreptitiously obtained.

Its Purpose

The probable purpose of the creation of this commission was to check the growth of Puritanism especially in the colonies where it had been strengthened by the migration of nonconformists from England. The executives of Virginia and Maryland had been subjected to direct control from the mother country and the Massachusetts system was next to be attacked. The commissioners demanded the Massachusetts charter, took out a writ of *quo warranto* against the Massachusetts company, and appointed Sir Ferdinando Gorges governor-general of all New England. As we shall see in succeeding chapters, Gorges was one of the earliest and most persistent advocates of English colonization in America. Although he now appears as the willing agent of the policy of coercion, he had, in 1606, enunciated the principle that nothing can be "more honorable than free conditions to be granted to such as willingly do hazard themselves and their estates without further charge to the king"—a suggestion the rejection of which ultimately led to the separation of the English colonies from the crown. But Massachusetts stood firm for her rights, the commissioners made several misplays, the king had trouble at home, and the colony saved her charter—for a time. The commission of 1634 and committees of the privy

Archbishop Laud

council attended to colonial matters until the breaking out of the civil war in England.

The Warwick Commission

After parliament had wrested the supreme authority from the king and the privy council, it appointed a new board of commissioners to deal with colonial matters. At its head was the earl of Warwick who was invested with the style and title of governor-in-chief and lord high admiral of all the colonies in America. Among its members were John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, and the younger Sir Henry Vane, late a governor of Massachusetts. Its powers were much like those of its predecessor, it being instructed to "provide for, order and dispose of all things which it should from time to time find most fitt to the well-governing of the said plantations." This arrangement continued until the "Rump Parliament" substituted the council of state for the privy council. Of course, there were the law officers of the crown and the courts, and we get occasional glimpses of customs officials and of an admiralty board.

November 24, 1643

An Unsteady Policy

The commonwealth and the protectorate having passed away and the king having come back to the throne, much of the governmental machinery and much of the colonial policy of the earlier Stuarts reappeared, but there was no further attempt to enforce ecclesiastical uniformity in the colonies. The royal recognition of the principle of religious liberty is clearly manifest in the Carolina, the Pennsylvania, and the other charters granted subsequent to the restoration. Some of the liberal features of these grants were deviations from the systematic policy of the home government and have been attributed to the personal favoritism of the king, to the carelessness of his advisers, and to the fact that the English government was not yet prepared to assume the work and to provide for the attendant outlay involved in establishing new settlements. Whatever the cause of the aberrations, some of the granted privileges soon awakened regret and a systematic attack was begun on all the chartered colonies.

December 1, 1660

In the first year of his reign, Charles II. commissioned the lord chancellor and other members of his privy

The Council for Foreign Plantations

council, nobility, gentry, and merchants a "council for foreign plantations." They were to inform themselves of the condition of the colonies, and of the commissions by which they were governed. They were to notify every governor and all who held patents from the crown that a general council of trade had been erected, and "this particular council" appointed, and to require an exact account of their affairs, the nature and constitution of their laws and government, the number of men, fortifications, etc. They were to establish a correspondence with these governors so as to be able to give the king an account of the government, complaints, wants, growth, commodities, and trade of each colony. They were to take especial care for the strict execution of the late act for the encouragement of shipping and navigation. They were to consider how the colonies might be best supplied with servants and a course legally settled to send thither vagrants and others "who remain here noxious and unprofitable." They were also instructed to provide learned and orthodox ministers to reform the debaucheries of planters and servants, to consider how the natives and slaves might be brought to baptism in the Christian faith, and generally to dispose of all matters relating to the government and improvement of the colonies.

Deportation and Regeneration

The organization of the council for foreign plantations introduced a new element into the governmental machinery by the association of merchants with privy councilors. The step is noteworthy as an index of the growth of mercantilism as a factor in English colonial policy. The newly constituted body held its first meeting on the seventh of January, 1661. In the following June, a committee was appointed to consider ways of furnishing people for the plantations and how felons condemned to death for small offenses, and sturdy, unmarried beggars might be disposed of for that use, and how the "wicked custom" of "spiriting away" young persons, i.e., inducing them by fraud or violence to go as servants in the plantations, might be prevented, and how authority might be secured for justices of the peace to dispose of loose and

disorderly persons for the supply of the foreign plantations. Among other early results of the organization of the council was the incorporation of a company for the propagation of the gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America.

February 7, 1662

In 1672, the council for foreign plantations was consolidated with the council of trade to form the "Council of Trade and Plantations." In 1675, the commission of the council of trade and plantations was revoked and its work transferred to a committee of the privy council. Between the two systems there was little practical difference. Thus kings and courtiers, parliament and prelates, merchants and mercantile corporations played their several parts. Back of all boards, committees, and commissions were the two houses of parliament, the mighty reservoirs of legislative authority, but from first to last the most important wheel of the executive machinery was the privy council. Older by centuries than any of the commissions, with authority overlapping or appellate, the privy council was much of the time the prime source, and most of the time the residuary legatee of authority in colonial matters.

The Council of Trade and Plantations

With the accession of William and Mary came a new order of colonial administration. After the revocation of the commission of the council of trade and plantations in 1675, colonial matters had devolved principally upon the privy council committee for trade and plantations. The germ of this committee has been traced back as far as the reign of Edward III., when the chancellor, the treasurer, and others of the king's council were given power to prolong the term for the exportation of wool beyond the time fixed by an act of parliament. The commercial classes in England were growing in importance and influence, and with that growth was the growth of a demand for sea-power and for "colonies whose trade the home manufacturers might monopolise." Wars had destroyed commerce and nearly ruined domestic industry. In eight years the foreign shipping had fallen off more than a third. For this and perhaps other reasons, the privy council committee for trade and plantations was

The Board of Trade and Plantations

abolished in 1696, and its work transferred to the new "Board of Trade and Plantations"—in substance a return to the colonial system that had existed from 1660 to 1675.

The Lords of Trade

This board was to consist of the chief officers of state and eight nominated members or commissioners, known as "the lords of trade." Its business was to promote trade, inspect the plantations, and convey information. With this board the colonial governors held official correspondence, and to it they transmitted the journals of their councils and assemblies, the accounts of the collectors of customs and of naval officers, and similar intelligence. Goldwin Smith says that the board of trade "acted as the guardian power of British monopoly, having its sentinels in the colonial governors." George Chalmers wrote of the board as the "guardian of the general trade of the Empire." In addition to all these, there were the admiralty and treasury officials in England, and in America the royal and other governors, a host of minor executive, judicial, and financial officers, special commissioners, etc. But there was no central department of colonial affairs and of that lack the eighteenth century writers unceasingly complain.

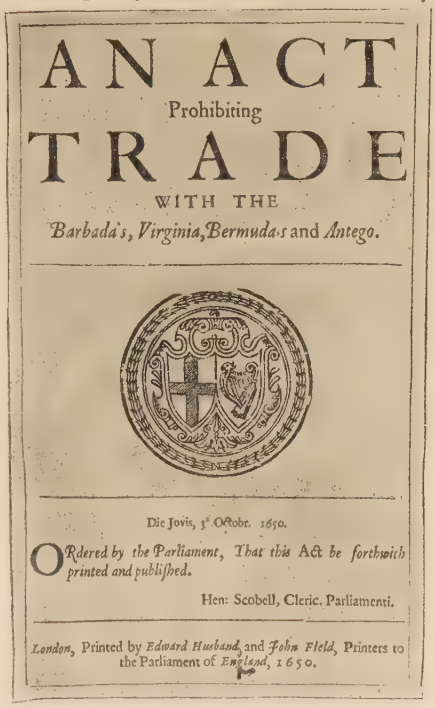
Secretaries of State

The early English monarchs had their learned ecclesiastical clerks or secretaries who conducted the royal correspondence. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth these functionaries, of whom there then were two, were first called secretaries of state. Owing to the increase of business occasioned by the union of Scotland, a third secretaryship was created in 1708; it was discontinued in 1746, and reëstablished in 1768. The secretary of state for the southern department had charge of the relations with France, Spain, and the colonies, and is often mentioned as the secretary of state for the colonies, or as the American secretary of state. Although the transfer of the general superintendence of colonial affairs to the new official tended to reduce the functions of the board of trade to mercantile matters, the commissions for the latter ran in the same form as before until both board and secretaryship were suppressed by Burke's act of 1782,

a legislative acknowledgment of the logic of events accomplished.

Overlapping Powers

Until 1752, provincial governors were instructed to correspond both with the commissioners of the board and with one of the secretaries of state. The executive power was in the hands of the privy council or of the secretary of state. Proceedings might be taken before the board of trade and plantations, the privy council, or a secretary of state. This confusing overlapping of authority worked continual mischief and has been included among the causes of "that motion without progress which sums up British colonial policy during the first half of the eighteenth century." Englishmen were working out a colonial system through doubt and darkness; feeling the way at each hesitating step and making many a mistake. Still a manifest advance was made. The navigation acts were consolidated and strengthened, and colonial governors were more strictly pledged to their diligent enforcement. Customs officers in America were put upon a new footing and admiralty courts established there. Restrictive legislation like the parliamentary act that forbade the carrying of wool or woolen manufactures from the English colonies to England or any other plantation, aroused antagonisms and resulted in complaints that were as bitter as they were common.


AN ACT
Prohibiting
TRADE
WITH THE
Barbada's, Virginia, Bermuda's and *Antego.*

Die Jovis, 3° Octobr. 1650.

ORdered by the Parliament, That this Act be forthwith printed and published.

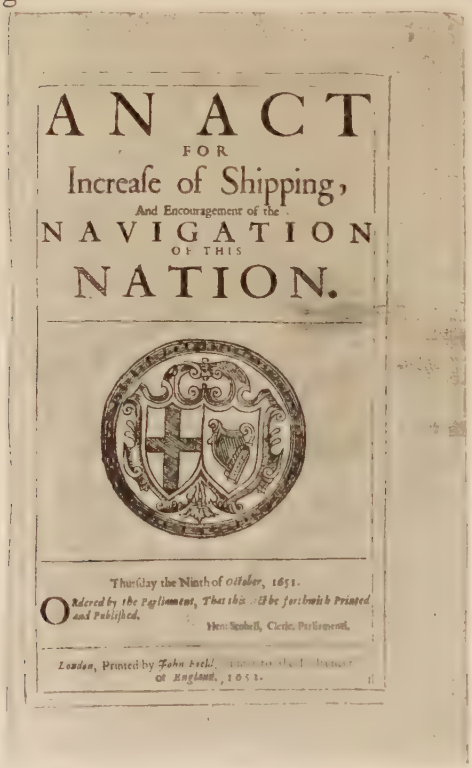
Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

London, Printed by *Edward Husband*, and *John Field*, Printers to the Parliament of *England*, 1650.

Title-page of *An Act Prohibiting Trade*, One of the Navigation Acts

Three Types of English Colonies

Before the days of steam navigation and the telegraph, England's colonial problem was how to maintain the authority of the crown in countries that lay beyond thousands of miles of sea. The first solution sought was to grant to individuals full power to make and to manage settlements in their own way, subject only to a fair conformity with English laws. Thus, in 1579, Queen Elizabeth authorized Sir Humphrey Gilbert to discover and possess such remote "heathen lands not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people as should seem good to him." This notion of a feudal principality developed into the idea of a proprietary province, of which Carolina, Maryland, and Pennsylvania are well-known illustrations. With an occasional relapse into this crude policy of the days of Queen Elizabeth, the historic panorama of British colonial policy next brings into view the trading company, with colonial government in the hands of a council in England and a governor chosen by it. From such beginnings were evolved the charter governments represented by Virginia and Massachusetts, and later by Rhode Island and Connecticut. The creation of these chartered institutions, the proprietary province


AN ACT
FOR
Increase of Shipping,
And Encouragement of the
NAVIGATION
OF THIS
NATION.

Thursday the Ninth of October, 1651.

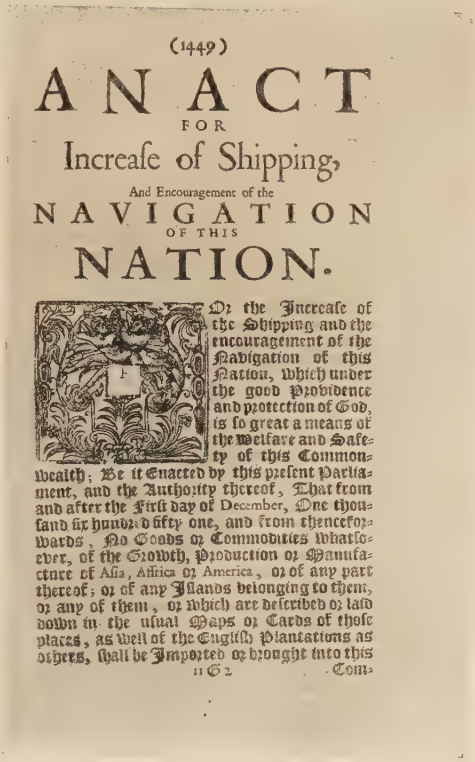
Ordered by the Parliament, That this Act be forthwith Printed and Published.

Henr. Scobell, Clerk. Parliament.

London, Printed by John Field, [illegible] of England. 1651.

Title-page of *An Act for Increase of Shipping*, the Navigation Act of 1651

and the corporate colony, was made necessary by the fact that neither the privy purse of the crown nor the treasury of the nation was able to meet the expense and to carry the risks attendant upon the planting of a greater England beyond the Atlantic. As the seventeenth century grew old, it brought in the era of the royal governor and his council—the full blossom of the traditional policy to which the navigation act of 1651 first gave tangible form. Instead of patent or charter that guaranteed rights to colony and colonists, the dominant governmental constitution was the royal will as expressed in the commission of the royal governor and in the instructions that generally went with the commission. Before the end of the century, the charter governments had been brushed aside, temporarily in a few cases and permanently in most cases. The transition from the proprietary and corporate colony to the royal province is one of the most characteristic features of American history in the period of which this volume treats.



(1449)

AN ACT
FOR
Increase of Shipping,
And Encouragement of the
NAVIGATION
OF THIS
NATION.

OR the Increase of the Shipping and the encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation, which under the good Providence and protection of God, is so great a means of the Welfare and Safety of this Commonwealth; Be it Enacted by this present Parliament, and the Authority thereof, That from and after the First day of December, One thousand six hundred fifty one, and from thenceforwards, No Goods or Commodities whatsoever, of the Growth, Production or Manufacture of Asia, Affrica or America, or of any part thereof; or of any Islands belonging to them, or any of them, or which are described or laid down in the usual Maps or Cards of those places, as well of the English Plantations as others, shall be Imported or brought into this

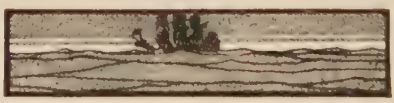
H 2 Com-

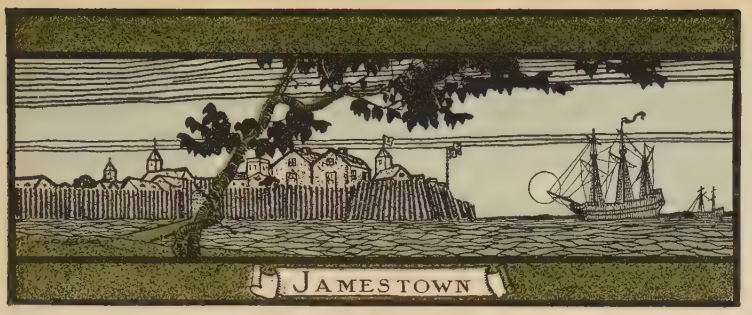
First Page of Text of *An Act for Increase of Shipping*, of 1651

The navigation acts of 1651 and 1660 will be more fully considered in chapters that are to follow. Now and

Aim and Ethics

here it need only be said that, whether the regnant power was Stuart, parliament, or protector, the underlying notion was that the true purpose of English colonies was to foster the trade of the mother country. The home government was building up a British empire of which the English colonies in America were a part. Imperial control was one of the legitimate and essential functions of such an empire. In the strengthening of the imperial system, English statesmen doubtless made mistakes. Some of the specific rights conveyed by charters granted by the king in council were disregarded, and Englishmen who had settled beyond the seas were sometimes forced to wonder if it had been forgotten that they were flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of those who remained at home. But Americans of our generation who studiously ponder upon the errors of their fathers in the decade following 1865 will, perhaps, not insist that all unwisdom is born of ill will. The navigation acts were directed against the naval supremacy of Holland rather than the prosperity of English colonies, but the attempt to wrest the carrying trade from the Dutch involved no little injury to Englishmen beyond the Atlantic. It was more difficult for those who then suffered than it is for us to see that these ordinances were not framed in a spirit of conscious hostility to the colonies. The passage of the suffering has not always brought the cleared vision.





CHAPTER III

VIRGINIA UNDER THE CHARTER

1602–1624

Gosnold March, 1602

WHILE Ralegh was a prisoner in London Tower, Bartholomew Gosnold, one of Ralegh's old captains, sailed from England with thirty-two persons some of whom intended to remain in the New World and there plant a colony. He took the direct route, saved thus a thousand miles, sighted the coast of Maine in May, and cast anchor off the sandy fist at the end of the bent arm that he named Cape Cod. Thence he coasted in the track of Leif the Lucky and, in Buzzard's Bay, found the island that now bears the name of Cuttyhunk. Here on a rocky islet in a little lake, an island in an island, some built a fort, while others went afield and gathered sassafras and cedar. The division of the scant supplies led to wrangling, and the demoralized company set sail for England. Gosnold had made the first English footprints on the New England coast. Footprints on the seashore are easily washed out, and New England dropped behind Virginia as the site of the first settled colony.

Pring April 10, 1603

A few days after the death of Queen Elizabeth, Bristol merchants sent out Martin Pring with two vessels. He sighted the islands of Maine, "bore into the great Gulfe [Massachusetts Bay] which Captaine Gosnold overshot," and loaded his ships with sassafras at Plymouth Harbor. In 1604, De Monts and Champlain planted their French colony at Port Royal. In 1605, the earl of Southampton, Lord Thomas Arundell, Sir Ferdinando Gorges,

1605 and others sent a ship under George Weymouth to explore the coast of New England, then called North Virginia by the English and Norumbega by the French. Weymouth made a landing on the coast of Maine, which he explored in part, and with five kidnapped Indians soon returned to England. Gorges said that the kidnapping "accident must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to our plantations." But there was a more potent factor in the opening of the New World to English colonization. Just before Weymouth's return, a peace between England and Spain had been negotiated, and the treaty had been ratified by his Catholic majesty, Philip III.

June 15

A Colonizing Corporation

The favorable reports of the country brought back by Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth attracted the attention of certain "knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers" of London, Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, who proposed a corporation somewhat similar to the famous East India company to which Queen Elizabeth had granted a charter. It was natural that English merchants should adapt the corporation to the purposes of colonization, for it was a familiar form of subordinate government that easily lent itself to plans of colonial development. In fact, at that time, the corporation was a necessity to successful colonization. With revenue scant, credit wanting, and corruption prevalent, the government of the Tudors and the Stuarts was unequal to the task of developing new colonies. On the other hand, ventures like those of Ralegh went to show that such undertakings were beyond the resources of an individual or of a small association of merchants. James I. granted letters patent under which two companies were formed. This charter was the first under which a permanent English settlement was made in America—the beginning of the line of historic American constitutional development.

April 10, 1606

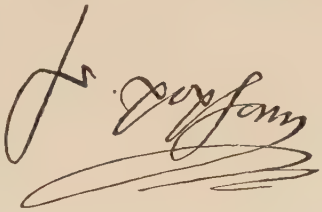
The London Company

The southern or "first colony" consisted of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward-Maria Wingfield, and others, the most important of whom was Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the archbishop of

York. As most of them were residents of London, their corporation came to be called the London company. They were authorized to begin their "first plantation and habitation at any place upon the said coast of Virginia or America where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty degrees of the said latitude." The principal members of the northern or "second colony" were Sir John Popham (who as lord chief-justice condemned Ralegh to death), George Popham his nephew, Sir Ferdinando Gorges the governor of the garrison at Plymouth, and Sir John Gilbert and his brother Ralegh, sons of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother of Sir Walter Ralegh. This corporation came to be called the Plymouth company. They were authorized to place the seat of their first abode and habitation upon the coast at any place "where they shall think fit and convenient between eight and thirty degrees of the said latitude and five and forty degrees of the same latitude."

1606

The Plymouth Company



Autograph of Sir John Popham

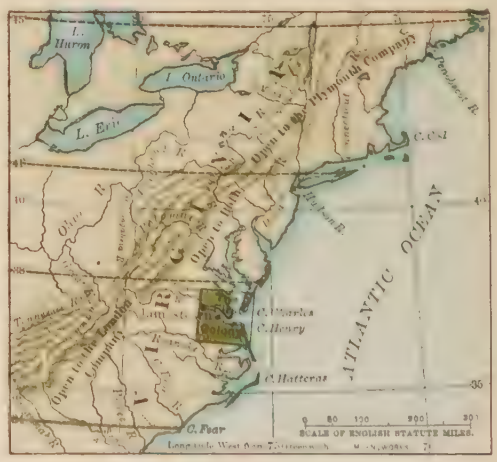
The limits thus fixed for the Plymouth company ignored the French claim to Norumbega on the north and, on the south, overlapped by three degrees the northern limit of the London company. The common interpretation of the involved language of the charter has been to the effect that the country between the thirty-fourth and the forty-fifth parallels was divided into three zones, the southern zone, four degrees of latitude in width, being given to the London company, the northern zone, four degrees in width, being given to the Plymouth company, and the middle zone, three degrees in width, being held open for competitive occupancy with the limitation of the charter, "that the plantation and habitation of such of the said colonies as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English miles of the other of them that first began to make their

Territory

1606

Map Illustrating the Traditional Interpretation of the Charter of 1606

plantation as aforesaid." In fact, many maps dividing the territory in question into zones as just described have been made. George Bancroft states that King James "selected a territory of ten degrees of latitude" and reaching "into the back woods without bound." More than one writer has explained that the purpose of the elaborate arrangement was to tempt the grantees to quick action by offering a reward for the first occupation of the intermediate zone. But careful study of the charter shows clearly that the king did not grant to the two companies all of the territory in question, but that he gave to each company a tract one hundred miles square. Each company had permission to begin "their said first plantation and habitation at any place upon the said coast of Virginia or America, where they shall think fit and convenient," within the limits prescribed, and was granted all the lands "from the said first seat of their plantation



Virginia as Fixed by Settlement under the Charter of 1606

and habitation by the space of fifty miles of English statute measure, all along the said coast of Virginia and America," north and south, "as the coast lyeth together with all the islands within one hundred miles directly over against the said sea coast," and "from the said fifty miles every way on the sea coast, directly into the main land by the space of one hundred like English miles." 1606

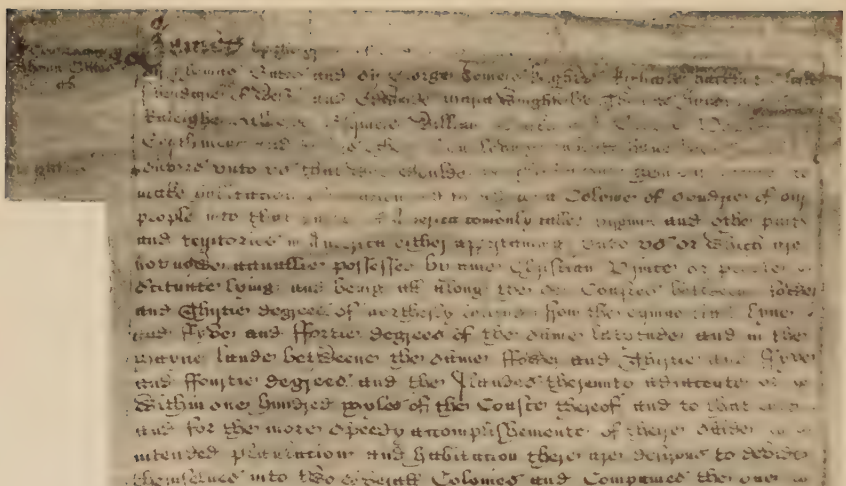
Government

The two companies were to be governed by a superior council of thirteen at London appointed by the king. This royal council was to appoint colonial councils of thirteen with powers that were supreme within the colonies, and the right to veto was reserved for the crown. The church of England was established, trial by jury was denied except for capital offenses, and a community of labor and property was prescribed for five years. The complicated code was characteristic of the pedantic monarch. The royal prerogative was well hedged about; everything began and ended with the king. The charter was chary of provisions for the erection of a government, but the instructions issued by the king provided all the essentials of an absolutism. Those instructions are important and should be studied side by side with the charter. The king appointed and instructed his council in London, and that council appointed and instructed the council in Virginia. The actual settlers were to have no voice in their own government. All the functions of sovereignty within the colony were embosomed in the resident council. It could depose as well as elect its officers, and even expel its own members from their seats, a royal temptation to intrigue and dissension. But the charter provided that English immigrants and their children "shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities within any of our other dominions to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England or any other of our said dominions."

November 20, 1606

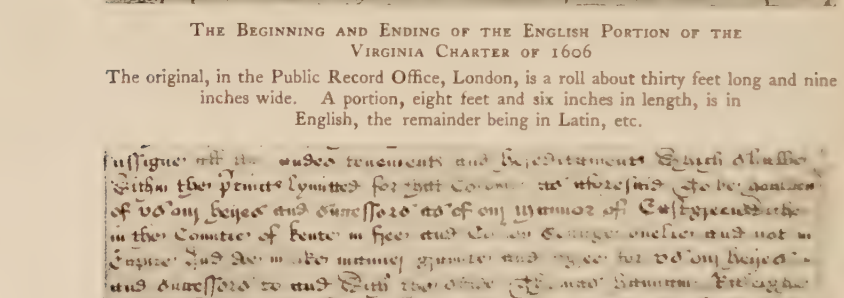
The Popham Colony

In the summer of 1606, the Plymouth company sent out two ships. The first of these, commanded by Henry Challons, went by way of the West Indies.



THE BEGINNING AND ENDING OF THE ENGLISH PORTION OF THE VIRGINIA CHARTER OF 1606

The original, in the Public Record Office, London, is a roll about thirty feet long and nine inches wide. A portion, eight feet and six inches in length, is in English, the remainder being in Latin, etc.



"Suddenly we found ourselves in the middest of a fleet of eight Sayle of ships in a very thicke fogge of mist and raine." In short, Challons and his crew and ships were captured by the Spaniards. Later in the season, the company sent out Martin Pring who made a careful exploration of North Virginia. In consequence of Pring's report, two ships set sail from Plymouth in May, 1607, with a hundred and twenty men who were to found "the second colony of Virginia." At the end of July, they anchored off the coast of Maine and, in August, they landed below the junction of the Kennebec and the Androscoggin rivers where they quickly built a fort, a number of houses, and a ship that they called the "Virginia." The first work of this first vessel built by Englishmen in America was to carry back to England two-thirds of the colonists none of whom enjoyed the rigorous winter on "the Maine." Governor George Popham died and was succeeded by Ralegh Gilbert. The spring of 1608 found the colony in sad plight and brought news of the death of Sir John Gilbert. As Ralegh Gilbert was his brother's heir, he returned to England; with him went the remnant of the northern colony. New England was over-cold and, "in respect of that, not habitable for Englishmen." In the previous year the French had made a similar retreat from the not distant Port Royal. While Gilbert and his returning colonists were upon the ocean with their frozen hopes, Champlain was outward bound to lay the foundations of Quebec, as told in an earlier chapter.

1606
1607

The Virginia Founders

In spite of the failure in "North Virginia," the year 1607 marks the beginning of successful English colonization in America. On Saturday, the twentieth of December, 1606, and under sealed orders from the council for Virginia dated ten days before, three small vessels, the "Goodspeed," the "Sarah Constant," and the "Discovery," sailed from Blackwall, England. The little fleet carried forty or fifty sailors and "six score" male emigrants, including fifty-two gentlemen and—a barber. A gentleman of that time was unused to manual labor. "I tell thee,"

December 30, new style

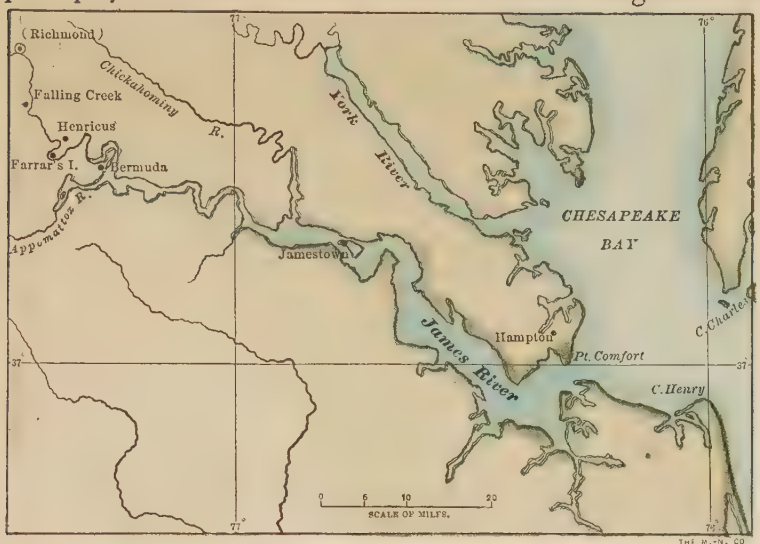
1607 says Seagull in *Eastward Hoe!* an oft-quoted comedy written in 1605, "golde is more plentiful there than copper is with us; and for as much redde copper as I can bring I'll have thrice the weight in gold. Why, man, all . . . the chaines with which they chaine up their streets are massie gold; and for rubies and diamonds, they go forth in Holydayes and gather them by the seashore." And, to give full roundness to the picture, he promises "no more law than conscience and not too much of eyther." Christopher Newport was commander of the fleet; with him were Bartholomew Gosnold who had sailed to and from Cuttyhunk, and Captain John Smith, an indomitable adventurer, who had set up a dubious claim to glory won in the wars against the Turks. In spite of Gosnold's knowledge of a shorter route, they went by the West Indies and were four months on the way. Alexander Brown says that "it is the same route by which the same vessels, under competent commanders, would now sail," but the long voyage wasted the supplies and bred discontent. John Smith was under arrest when he landed in Virginia.

Captain John Smith

The Chesapeake Capes May 6, n. s.

On Sunday, the twenty-sixth of April, 1607, "about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of Virginia: the same day wee entred into the Bay of Chesupioc [Chesapeake] directly, without any let or hinderance; there wee landed and discovered a little way, but we could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight there of." As they were going on board their ships, they were attacked by the Indians and two of them were wounded. That night, they broke the seals of their letters of instruction and found that the councilors named were Edward-Maria Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold,

John Smith, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall. Five of the council promptly took the oath of office and chose Wingfield as 1607



Map of the First Settlements in Virginia

president. Smith was excluded from his seat until the following June. Two days later, Newport and others launched the shallop and sailed up the bay. They entered a large river that they named for their king, and were vexed to find the water at the south side of the entrance too shallow for the passage of their ships. Toward night, they rowed over to the opposite point of land near which they found an excellent channel. This discovery put them "in good Comfort. Therefore they named that point of Land, Cape Comfort." On the following day, they named the capes on either hand at the entrance to the bay in honor of the two princes and at Cape Henry set up a cross and claimed the country for the crown of England. April 28–May 8

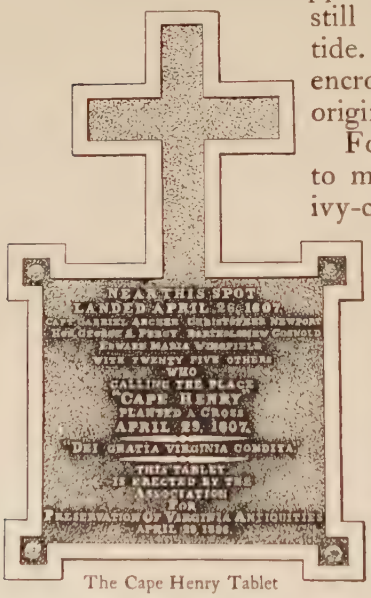
On the day after that, the ships entered the James River. In the shallop, Newport began the search for their "seating place," going up the river as far as the mouth of the Appomattox. Toward the end of the fortnight, the ships came up to the chosen place "where James Towne

1607 May 14–24

our ships do lie so near the shore that they are moored to the trees in six fathom of water." The next day, "we landed all our men which were set to work about the fortifications, and others some to watch and ward, as it was convenient." In honor of the king, this first firm settlement of Ralegh's "Inglishe nation" was named James Towne. The site chosen was a little more than thirty miles from the mouth of the river and on a low peninsula that was then connected with the mainland by a narrow neck that constituted an isthmus only at ordinary tides. The site was unhealthful, the selection was unfortunate. As this isthmus was submerged when the tide rose above its normal level, most of the early references to the locality speak of it as an island. For instance, early in 1609, Captain John Smith "built a Blockhouse in the neck of our Isle," as a protection against the Indians. What appear to be traces of the isthmus are still found one or two feet below low tide. Owing to the long-continued encroachments of the river, part of the original town is now under water.

Today

For many years, there was nothing to mark the site but the ruins of an ivy-covered church tower and some tombstones. Fortunately, some of the most influential women of Virginia, in 1889, organized "The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities," secured a state charter, and acquired the title to the historically important part of the island. Chiefly as a result of their efforts, the national government has begun the building of a breakwater to protect the island from the encroachments of the river. In 1901, the association began excavations in the churchyard with resultant "finds" that throw fresh interest around James Towne—the Pompeii of English America.



The Cape Henry Tablet

1607

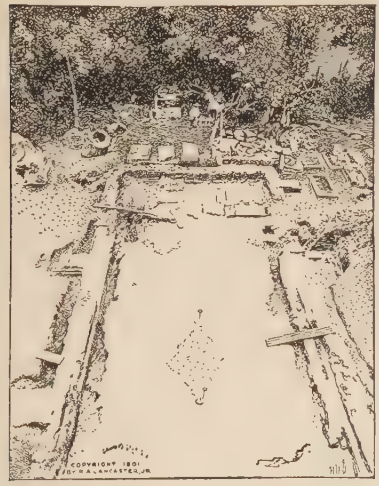
Planting and Exploring

While some of the newcomers were felling trees, building huts, and planting crops, Newport, with a score or more, went up the river seeking the South Sea and the gold for which they were as eager as any Spaniards. They went as far as the site of Richmond, where the falls of the river put a stop to the advance of their shallop. In their absence, the unfinished fort was attacked by Indians and several of the colonists were wounded. After their return, the defenses of the town were strengthened and Smith took his seat as a member of the council. On the twenty-second of June, Newport sailed for England. On the day before his departure, he dined ashore and, says the *Relation*, "invited many of us to supper as a farewell"—probably the first farewell banquet recorded in the history of the English colonies in America. Newport left a hundred and four colonists "in good health and comfort," the "Discovery," a pinnace of about twenty tons, three months' provisions, an unwillingness to work, disturbing dreams of gold, and dangerous factions. By September, fifty were dead, Gosnold among them. Kendall was removed

Ruins of the Old Church Tower at Jamestown

June 10–20

July 2, n. s.



Bird's-eye View of the Foundations of Jamestown Church
(Taken in 1901 from top of the ruined tower shown in the illustration above)

1607 Disease, Dissension, and Death

September 11–21

from the council, tried for mutiny, and shot. Wingfield was deposed from the presidency and the council and confined on board the pinnace. Ratcliffe became president *de facto* and, with Smith and Martin, constituted the council. In this time of death and despair, "it pleased God (in our extremity) to bring us halfe ripe corn, to refresh us." There are many discrepancies between Wingfield's *Discourse* and Smith's *Historie*, in regard to these events and their causes, each making out a bad case for the other.

John Smith taken Prisoner

Thomas Studley, the cape merchant of the colony (i.e., the head merchant for procuring provisions and venting commodities), having died, Smith became his successor. With characteristic energy, he traded up and down the river, gathering supplies that had become imperatively necessary, meeting the natives with kindness when they were amiable, and bringing them to terms by force of arms when they were insolent, for "no persuasion could persuade him to starve!" When Ratcliffe and Archer proposed to leave the colony to its fate, the project "was curbed and repressed by Smith," the hero of Smith's writings. Something like tranquillity came with gathered harvests and, in December, Smith set out to trade for corn and to discover the great South Sea. He turned into the Chickahominy and, in what is now the White Oak Swamp, east of Richmond, was taken prisoner by red men led by Opechancanough, the brother of Powhatan, the so-called "emperor" of thirty tribes. This Powhatan was a successful Indian chief but his titles of king and emperor, and his "court" as well, were simply bits of European terminology misapplied by Smith; his "royalty" existed only in the imagination of the English. Powhatan sent Smith back to Jamestown where he arrived after an absence of several weeks.

Seal of the Jamestown Exposition Company

January 2–12, 1608

It was during this month, if at all, that the romantic incident of Pocahontas saving the life of Captain John Smith took place. At the court of Powhatan, Smith 1607 The Pocahontas Legend

Map Showing the Indian Tribes of the South Atlantic States

was received in royal state and feasted after the Indian fashion as the central figure of a forthcoming execution. After ceremonious hospitality, two large stones were brought in. The captive's head was pillowed on the

1607 stones and clubmen stood around ready to play their parts in the expected execution. At such a moment, nothing is certain but the unexpected—at least in the realm of dramatic fiction. "Pocahontas, the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevaile, got his head in her arms, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death; whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper."

A
TRVE RE-
lation of ſuch occur-
rences and accidents of noateas
hath hapned in Virginia ſince the firſt
planting of that Collony, which is now
reſident in the South part thereof, till
the laſt returne from
thence.
Written by Captaine Smith *one of the ſaid Collony, to a worſhipfull* friend of his in England.

LONDON
Printed for *Iohn Tappe*, and are to bee ſolde at the Grey-
hound in Paules-Church yard, by *W.W.*
1608

Title-page of Smith's *True Relation*

Historical Iconoclasm

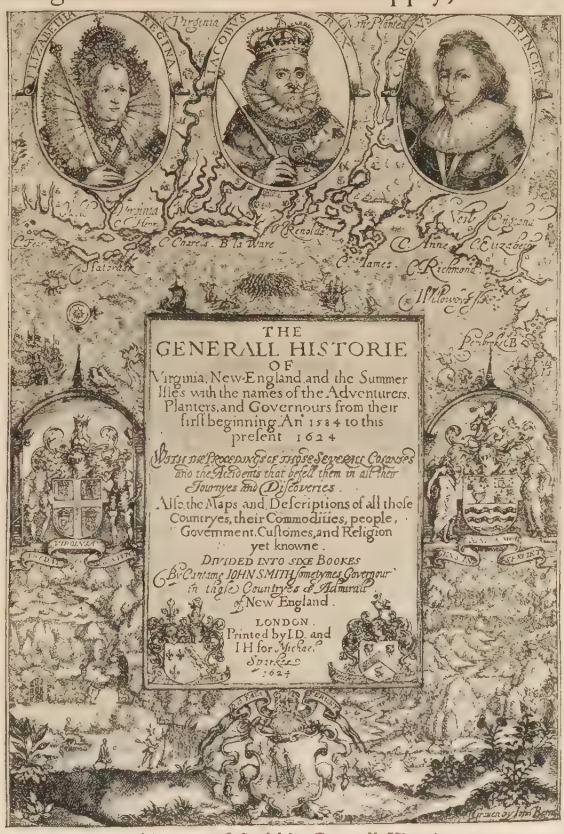
This pretty story of rescue rests solely upon the representations of Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*, published in 1624, after Pocahontas had been Christianized, lionized, married, and seven years buried. In the earliest printed biography of Smith, Thomas Fuller, a contemporary, says: "It soundeth much to the diminution of his deeds, that he alone is the herald to publish and proclaim them." The records written by contemporaries contain no allusion to such service by Pocahontas, and the hero's earlier work, *A True Relation*, published in London in 1608, gives a widely different story of his captivity and release. There is a suspicion that the real source of the story was Smith's characteristic inclination to tell an interesting tale and his natural desire to utilize the interest that the heroine's visit to England had created. Men often mourn as the image-breaking tendency of modern criticism what is in reality only "the correcting and clarifying influence of time." The narrative has been our favorite bit of colonial romance for generations, but

many of the later historians refuse to accept it. Like the story of the apocryphal voyage of Vespucius, it has not been absolutely disproved and is not without able and valiant defenders. 1608

The First Supply

On his return to Jamestown, Smith was arrested, indicted under the Levitical law for allowing the death of two of his men, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. "But it pleased God to send Captain Newport unto us the same evening." The "John and Francis" had arrived from England with the "first supply," about seventy additional settlers. As the ship came to her destination on Saturday evening, the immigrants did not land until Monday morning. Newport immediately liberated Wingfield and Smith; "also by his comyng was prevented a parliament which ye newe counsailor, Mr. Recorder [Archer] intended thear to summon." The colony had been reduced to forty persons, and these were nearly starved; the hunger

January 2–12



Title-page of Smith's *Generall Historie*

SMITH'S MAP OF VIRGINIA

1608

January 7–17

April 10–20

Smith in Power

June 2–12

July 21–31

September 10–20

explains much. Within the week, a fire destroyed nearly all the buildings in the fort including the church. The newcomers found in a glittering soil what they mistook for golden grains, and "there was now no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." After feeding upon the provisions of the colony for several months and loading his boat with the worthless yellow mica that Smith called "gilded durt," Newport sailed from Jamestown, taking with him Wingfield and Archer, several charts and documents including Percy's *Discourse*, and the first turkeys ever seen in the mother country.

While the colonists were rebuilding the burned Jamestown, planting seed, and rapidly dying with hunger and exposure, Captain Francis Nelson and the "Phœnix" arrived with provisions and about thirty settlers. He had been separated from Newport by storms, and detained in the West Indies by bad weather. When the "Phœnix" sailed for England, she bore Captain John Martin and *A True Relation* and other documents sent by Smith who now was left without a rival. Without delay, Smith began the work of exploration. With about a dozen companions, he visited the east shore of the Chesapeake, spent several weeks in exploring the Potomac, and, without finding the South Sea, then returned to Jamestown where he "found the last supply all sick." Although he and his men were needed at Jamestown to help cultivate the crops, Smith waited only three days and then set out again on a voyage to find whether "the [Chesapeake] bay were endless or how far it extended." This they did find, but they did not find the ever elusive South Sea or the bag of gold at the end of the rainbow. Disappointed but determined to try again, the explorer returned to Jamestown on the seventh of September and there found "many dead, some sicke." Three days later, Ratcliffe's official term expired and the presidency fell to Smith to whom "as by course it did belong." From his surveys he composed his map of Virginia.

Newport soon returned from England with seventy

1608 more settlers, the "second supply." The great problem of the colonists was to get food enough to keep themselves alive, and Smith wrote to the London company what he called his "rude answer" in which he said: "When you send again, I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have." With Newport had come Mrs. Thomas Forrest and her maid, Anne Burras, the first English women in the colony. Before the end of the year, Anne Burras became Mrs. John Laydon. Her daughter, Virginia Laydon, born about a year later, was the first white child born in the colony and, following Virginia Dare, the second member of the second English generation in America. Other passengers were Francis West (a brother of Lord Delaware) and two newly-made members of the council, Richard Waldo and Peter Wynne. Newport had left England under orders not to return until he had found a lump of gold, a passage to the South Sea, or some survivor of the lost colony of Roanoke, and then to bring back a cargo the value of which should equal the cost of the expedition—the council at London was annoyed by the small returns that had been made to the company for their outlay. Newport wasted time in trying to realize some of these visionary schemes and in an unwise coronation of Powhatan. When he did return, he took with him Ratcliffe, Smith's new map of Virginia, and the above-mentioned "rude answer."

The Second Supply September 29–October 9

December, 1608

Cumulative Troubles

Smith had enough to do to keep the colonists from starving. They would not make proper provision for their wants or even save their supplies from loss by decay and immigrant rats. For this, of course, Smith blamed the others and, for it, others have blamed Smith. The surrounding natives were active and unfriendly, and malaria and accident added their burdens to those of indolence and hunger. Several were drowned and many others died, leaving Smith as the only member of the council and the only hope of the colony. According to

January–April, 1609

1609

his narrative, he was equal to every emergency. In negotiation or in personal encounter with the Indians, he was easily, equally, and always the victor. Notwithstanding his habitual exaggeration, Smith was a wonderful man. "He rang like brass without, no doubt, but had a touch of gold within." Still his abilities were inadequate for the robust growth of the new plantation. For several weeks in 1609, most of the colonists were living on a precarious diet of fish, game, and roots, "which kind of feeding caused all their skins to peel off, from head to foot, as if we had been flaide." Smith made no attempt to fill any of the vacant places in the council, and the company in London, weary of the dissensions in the colony and recognizing many evils in their form of government, determined to ask for a new charter.

Smith's Victory

May–July

Spanish Diplomacy

In spite of its voluminous literature, the history of the genesis of the colony is difficult because of the veil that was thrown over the enterprise. Spain claimed the Virginia country, Spanish spies were everywhere, and the London company guarded its transactions with an oath-bound secrecy. The recently published correspondence between the Spanish king and his ambassador at London throws a flood of light on this previously obscure feature of the venture. Zuñiga wrote from London to his master that he had found a confidential person through whom he would find out what was done in the Virginia council, and advised that "the bad project should be uprooted now while it can be done so easily." A few weeks later, he wrote: "It will be serving God and your majesty to

September 22, 1607

1609 drive these villains out from there, hanging them in time which is short enough for the purpose."

A New Charter

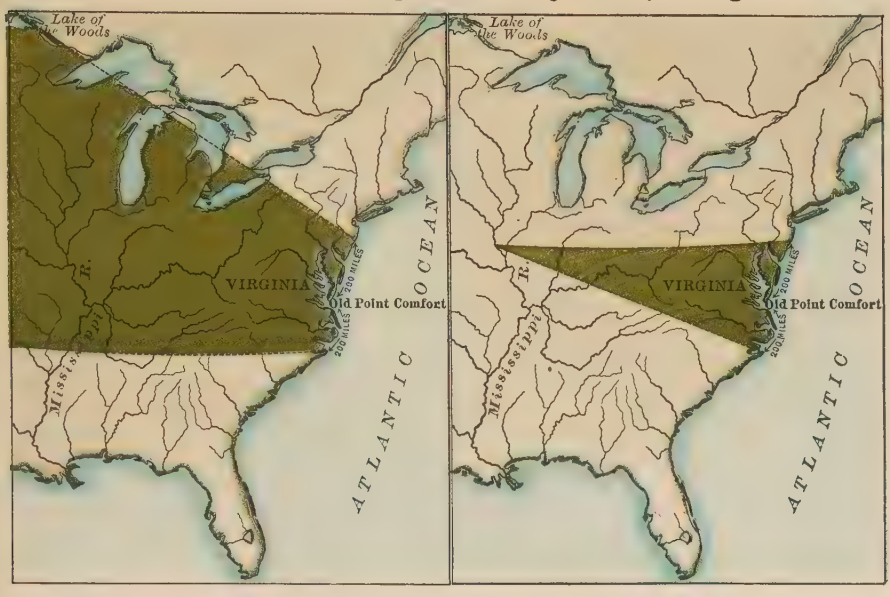
May 23–June 2

In spite of the claims of King Philip and the espionage of Zuñiga, King James granted a new charter with enlarged privileges. The new company was styled "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia." The incorporators were fifty-six of the London companies or gilds, such as the company of grocers and the company of butchers, and six hundred and fifty-nine persons mentioned by name in the charter. The latter ranged from the great lords of the realm to the fishmongers. Among them were twenty-one peers, ninety-six knights, twenty-eight esquires, fifty-three captains, fifty-eight gentlemen, one hundred and ten merchants, representatives of the various professions, and citizens unclassified, an imposing array of wealth and influence. The territory granted by the charter extended along the coast two hundred miles each way from Old Point Comfort and "up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest."

An Ambiguous Boundary

This peculiar expression, "west and northwest," was wonderfully vague and led to serious controversies. It made a difference which line was drawn northwest. If the northwest line was drawn from the southern end of the four hundred miles of coast, and another boundary line was drawn westward from the northern extremity of the coast, the domain thus limited would constitute a triangle of moderate area. If, on the other hand, one line was drawn westerly from the southern of the two points fixed on the coast and the remaining boundary was drawn northwesterly from the fixed point north of Old Point Comfort, the included territory would embrace a great part of the continent and extend from sea to sea. This was the construction given by Virginia to the language of the charter. The grant of 1606 declared the limits of Virginia to extend from the seashore one hundred miles inland; the charter of 1609 extended the limit westward to the Pacific. The width of the continent in the latitude

of Virginia was vaguely supposed to be not much more than a hundred miles. In spite of his pedantry, King 1609



Maps Illustrating the Two Methods of Interpretation of the Charter of 1609

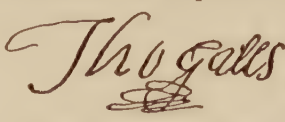
James little understood the hidden meaning of the sea-to-sea extension. Under this charter of 1609, modified by that of 1612, Virginia held until the formation of the federal constitution in 1788.

The Virginia Council

The government of the colony was intrusted to a council of fifty named in the charter, with Thomas Smith (or Smythe) as treasurer and general manager. This council was to sit at London and vacancies in it were to be filled by the corporators. It had full power "to nominate, constitute, and confirm" all needed officers and to "make, ordain, and establish orders, laws, directions, and instructions for the government of the said colony, . . . and to abrogate or change the same at any time." The emigrants were withdrawn from the power of the king, and the company could endow them with all the rights of Englishmen. The council then existing in Virginia was to be dissolved on the arrival of the officers

1609 The First Colonial Governor

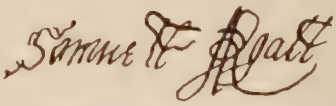
appointed by the new council in England. This body appointed "The Right Honourable Sir Thomas West, Knight Lord La Warr, to be principall Governor, Commander and Captain Generall both by Land and Sea over the said Collonie." It also made Sir Thomas Gates lieutenant-general. Lord Delaware's commission was the first issued to an English colonial governor in America. The appointment was for life and carried with it absolute authority. The governor had power to choose his council and most of the other necessary officers. In case of mutiny or rebellion he could declare martial law. In other cases, he was to "rule, punish, pardon, govern" according to instructions, or, when uninstructed, according to his own discretion and by such laws as he and his council might establish. Thus the government was strenuously centralized, without even an attempt at a separation of executive, judicial, and legislative functions. The general laxity of the previous "action" had been too disastrous for another trial of divided power.



Autograph of Sir Thomas Gates

Captain Argall

In May, just before the granting of the second charter, the council sent Captain Samuel Argall "for the discovery of a shorter way and to make trial of the fishing within our Bay and River." In July, he found the colony at Jamestown in sickness and hunger. He had brought bread and wine enough for a month's supply and news that the king had agreed to grant a charter to "The Company for Virginia in London." In July, just after the granting of the second charter, a fleet of nine vessels, including the "Virginia" that the Popham colony had built in Maine in 1607, sailed from Falmouth with about five hundred men (most of whom were artisans), women, and children, and a supply of sheep, goats, and horses. Hogs in Virginia were already counted by the hundred. Lord Delaware remained in England. Sir Thomas Gates with his wife and daughters, Sir George



Autograph of Captain Samuel Argall

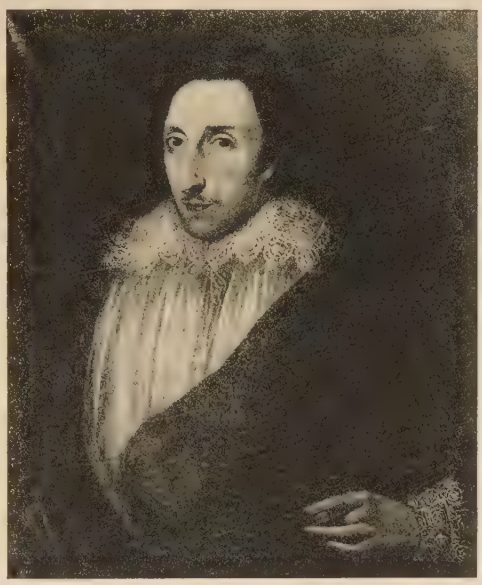
June 8–18

Somers, Captain Newport, and William Strachey took passage together in the "Sea Adventure." In July, the fleet was caught by a hurricane. In August, seven vessels arrived at Jamestown, bringing Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer, none of whom Captain John Smith cared to have return to Virginia, and about four hundred others. This was the "third supply." A small pinnace, the "Catch," had been lost at sea, and the "Sea Adventure" with its hundred and fifty settlers had been wrecked on the Bermudas. Settlements were made at the site of Richmond, at Point Comfort, and elsewhere. When Smith's term of office expired, George Percy was elected president, with West, Ratcliffe, and Martin as councilors. In September, Smith returned to England; he never revisited Virginia.

1609

July 25–August 4

The Third Supply



George Percy

In 1614, Captain Smith and Thomas Hunt sailed from England and spent the season in taking fish, gathering furs, and exploring the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod. In addition to fish and furs, Smith bore back a map, and Hunt a lot of kidnapped Indians. Hunt sold his Cape Cod captives in Spain, and "the next fishing vessels that came from New England brought word that the natives were greatly exasperated." One of these kidnapped Indians returned to America and will subse-

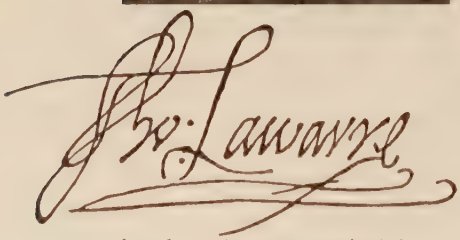
Smith Explores the New England Coast

1610 quently appear as the friendly Squanto. Smith became "Admiral of New England" and lived a quiet life, probably writing his *Historie* and adventures. He died at London in 1631, aged fifty-one. After his departure from Virginia, things went worse than before. The newly attempted settlements were unsuccessful and Indian hostilities were renewed. Idleness and debauchery were the seed and hideous famine was the harvest. In the annals of the colony, that winter is recorded as "the starving time." In six months, the five hundred were reduced to sixty who would quickly perish unless succor promptly came.

The Starving Time

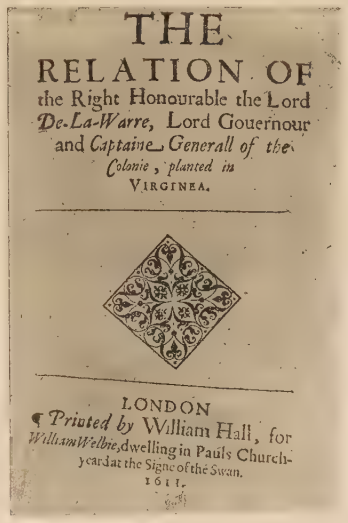
Jamestown Abandoned

The crew and passengers of the wrecked "Sea Adventure" had a not dreary winter in the Bermudas. The climate was delightful and food abundant. Men and women mated and married. Some were buried and children were born. For the rest, there were hunting and fishing, and the building of two pinnaces. The romantic story caught the popular fancy and probably gave to Shakspere the suggestion of *The Tempest*. On the tenth of May, 1610, the "Patience" and the "Deliverance" sailed from the Bermudas and, on the twenty-third, Gates and his companions landed at Jamestown. The church-bells rang and some of the sixty — all who could do so — assembled in obedience to the summons. The prospect was not promising; the scene was one of desolation. Gates quickly resolved to abandon Jamestown and to return to England. Accompanied by a guard, he was the last to go on shipboard, a prudent precaution against the burning of



the homes of so much suffering and sorrow. As the fleet sailed down the river, "none dropped a tear for none had enjoyed one day of happiness." Meanwhile, Lord Delaware had sailed from England with three vessels and a hundred and fifty settlers. As the ships from Jamestown lay at anchor in the lower river, waiting for a tide to take them out to sea, Gates received orders from Lord Delaware at Point Comfort. That night the wanderers of a day occupied their former homes. The governor and his fleet arrived at Jamestown on Sunday, the tenth of June. Gates gave up the office that he had held a fortnight, and Delaware at once chose his council of seven. In three days Virginia had died and come to life again.

1610 June 7


THE
RELATION OF
the Right Honourable the Lord
De-La-Warre, Lord Gouernour
and Captaine Generall of the
Colonie, planted in
VIRGINEA.

LONDON
Printed by William Hall, for
William Welbie, dwelling in Pauls Church-
yeard at the Signe of the Swan.
1611.

Title-page of Lord Delaware's *Relation*

Jamestown Reoccupied

Under the new régime, the hours for labor were from six to ten in the morning and from two to four in the afternoon. At ten and four, the bells were rung, and in full dress the governor went to the little church with the members of his council and fifty red-cloaked halberd-bearers. The council sat in state on his right hand and left; and, when the services were over, all returned with the same ceremony to their quarters. But the ludicrous little court made its authority respected, and left no doubt as to its wisdom, forbearance, gallantry, and picturesqueness. Gates was sent to England for more colonists and provisions; on account of failing health, Delaware soon followed. The governor's departure produced despondency at Jamestown and a great reaction in the popular mind in England.

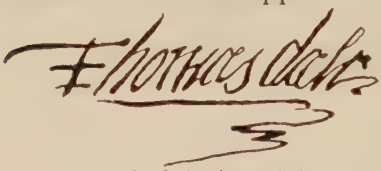
A Colonial Court

March, 1611

Fortunately, before the company learned of Delaware's return, Sir Thomas Dale had sailed from England with recruits, supplies, and a commission. He arrived at

Improved Economics

1611 Point Comfort on the twelfth of May and at Jamestown a week later. He bore from the London council an extraordinary code of "Lawes, Divine, Morall, and Martiall," the pains and penalties of which were very severe for men accustomed to English liberty. But the new high-marshall had better means than his Draconian code for the improvement of affairs. He gave to each man three acres of cleared ground for cultivation and, with the land, an assurance that support would depend upon effort and not upon the public stores. The alternative was clear, work or starvation, and "three men did more work under the new rule than thirty did under the old."



Autograph of Sir Thomas Dale

The church was repaired, houses were built, and preparations were made for a new settlement at Farrar's Island. Insubordination was the cause of delay in building the new town and of eight prompt executions.

Improved Conditions

In August, Sir Thomas Gates arrived with six ships, three hundred settlers, provisions, and cattle, including a hundred cows. The deputy-governor took up his residence at Hampton, left Percy in command at Jamestown, and sent Dale with three hundred and fifty men to found his projected "City of Henricus" at Farrar's Island. In 1612, several ships arrived with settlers among whom was Captain Samuel Argall. About Christmas, 1613, Bermuda City was established near the mouth of the Appomattox. The colonists now numbered about seven hundred, the sites of the new settlements were healthful, and the condition of Virginia gradually changed for the better. Each settlement had its stockade and military discipline. Men had opportunity to work for themselves as well as for the corporation. The "new and better way of doing things really made Virginia."

Tobacco Culture

In 1612, John Rolfe began the systematic cultivation of Virginia tobacco. The raising of this staple soon became so profitable that legislation was necessary to secure the planting of corn enough to keep the colonists from

starvation. Large plantations became desirable and more laborers a necessity. This necessity led to the shipment of white "servants" from England to Virginia. At this period, the lot of the English laborer was unusually hard. English law had built up a privileged class of artisans, and left agricultural work as the only means by which the masses of the people could obtain a living. The rates of wages fixed by the justices were so low that large numbers of the indigent had to be cared for at public expense. This burden became so heavy upon taxpayers that many of the working classes perished from want. It is not surprising that English agricultural laborers took advantage of the opportunity that Virginia offered for a bettered condition after a few years of service in the colony. Capital was readily invested in the venture. Many unfortunates, some paupers, and some convicted criminals, were sent from England, and their services for a term of years sold to the Virginia planters. The status of these white servants has been the theme of much discussion. Some of them acquired fine estates and became influential citizens; some of them made considerable accumulations before they received from the county courts their certificates of freedom; while the status of others differed from that of slaves chiefly in the duration of their bondage.

1612

The Tobacco Plant

White Servants

There has been a natural tendency among Americans to insist that the offenses of which the transported malefactors had been convicted were chiefly political. On the other hand, it is stated that "a majority of the convicts shipped to America [in the colonial era] were not political offenders." In 1611, Dale asked the English king to "banish hither all offenders condemned to die out of common goales." In 1670, a Virginia enactment complained of "the great number of felons and other desperate villains sent hither from the several prisons of England," and prohibited further importations; the statute was nullified by orders from the king. But at the period now under study, the demand for more laborers seemed to recognize no limit but supply, and the supply was increased in more bad ways than one.

Political Offenders and Criminals

1612 Negro Slaves

In his *Generall Historie*, Smith says that "about the last of August [1619] came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars" and names John Rolfe as his authority for the statement. This is the rather weak foundation for the oft-repeated declaration that then and thus negro slavery was introduced into Virginia. But it is not certain that the negroes brought in 1619 were the first landed in Virginia, and it is no more certain that they were brought in a Dutch man-of-war. Among the ships that traded with the colony was "The Treasurer," an English ship belonging to Lord Delaware, Lord Rich (afterwards the earl of Warwick), Captain Argall, and others. In September, 1619, this English ship arrived from the West Indies with a Spanish cargo of negroes, grain, wax, tallow, and other things of "littell worthe." Some or all of these negroes were left in Virginia; Alexander Brown says: "How many I do not know but probably more than twenty." According to this same good authority, Smith's statement "is the only evidence from which it might even be inferred that negroes were brought to Virginia at this time by any other ship than the Treasurer." Possibly both "The Treasurer" and a Dutch man-of-war "of Flushing" brought slaves that summer to Jamestown, but we have no conclusive evidence as to which ship left them there. At all events the planters soon found it more desirable to own a black man than to rent a white man.

The Third Charter March 12, 1611, o. s.—March 22, 1612, n. s.

In 1612, a third charter joined the Bermudas to the territory of Virginia and wrought a radical change in the organization of the London company. Since 1609, the affairs of the corporation had been managed by the inner council of fifty, of which the treasurer and nineteen made a quorum. Now there were to be each year "four Great and General Courts of the Council and Company of Adventurers for Virginia," with power to choose members of the council, to nominate and appoint officers for the government within the colony, and to make laws for the government of the colony. These general courts were largely attended and became scenes of animated democratic discussion and debate, the advance agents of the Long Parliament.

Pocahontas
(From Smith's *Generall Historie*)

1613 The Lady Rebecca

In 1613, Captain Argall bribed an Indian chief to betray Pocahontas into his hands. She was held as a hostage for the return by Powhatan of English captives and stolen arms and tools. Because of a superstitious fear, the Indians concealed from the English her real name, Matoaka. In April, 1614, she was married to John Rolfe. Sir Thomas Gates had returned to England leaving the government to Sir Thomas Dale, and Dale gave his warm approval to Rolfe's politic example. Pocahontas received the baptismal name of the Lady Rebecca. Her marriage secured for the English the lifelong good will of her father.

Argall's Plundering

In the summer of 1613, Dale sent Argall to break up the French settlement in Acadia. Argall sailed in his ship, "The Treasurer," which was armed with fourteen guns and manned with sixty musketeers who were "trained to sea service; to board a ship over the side and forward and aft, in rank

Pocahontas
(From painting taken from life)

Right Worll

Yours from Bristoll dated Septemb 9. 1619. I have received from Captaine
John Woodleef, whom accordinge to your desire, I have planted in a very
good and conveniente place. Against wch art of mine it may be Captaine
Francis West brothe to ye late right honoble my Lo la warre (accordinge
to some false information from heure) will there in England take some
exception, as yf I had seated your people upon parte of that lande wch he
ye last Summer designed for ye right honoble my Lo la warre nowe lyinge
Wch yf he doe, you may upon mine affirmation boldly reply that Mr West
is misinformed, and that ye lande I have made choyse of for you lyes
above that wch he had appointed for my lord, more towards West and
Sherley hundred, and towardes Charles Citty, and also that he had not
before his departure obtained any grante from me of that wch he did lay
out. For wyninge wth you presently in Adventure, though I give you
many thankes for your favor, in admittinge me one of your Society, and
would as gladly partake wth you as wth any fower in ye Company yet
such nowe is partly my publique employmente, and partly my engagment
to bringe out of England at my owne Charge 25 men this yeare to
furnish Smyths hundred as I must beseech you to epruse me, If I cannot
at this tyme make ye of that speciall favor of yours. Hereafter it may
be, when god shall give me ability and leysure, I shalbe more forward to
accept your Curtesy. In ye meane while you shall finde me as ready for your
sakes, to assist Captaine Woodleefe at all assayes, as yf mine adventure
were allready in your Gasse. So wishinge you all and your people here in
Virginia ye happines of a newe yeare, I rest

James Citty Jan.
10th 1619.

Your verie ready to doe you
Service

George Yeardley

Letter Dated January 10, 1619, Signed by George Yeardley

or file, just as well as soldiers on the Field." The master of the ship was described as "an English Puritan more malicious than the others all together against the Jesuits." At Mount Desert Island, Argall opened fire on a French vessel as sailless and helpless she rode at anchor, and after her surrender made a landing. He opened the chest of Captain La Saussaye, the commandant, stole his royal commission, and met the remonstrances of the Jesuit missionaries with a cool: "Well, it is a great pity that you have lost your papers." He returned to Virginia in August. In October, he was sent again to destroy the remaining French settlements in North Virginia. He now had three ships, "The Treasurer" and two that he had captured on his former foray. He burned the French works at Mount Desert and the dwellings at the Saint Croix settlement of the Sieur de Monts "and destroyed every token of French names and French claims, as he had been commanded to do." At Port Royal, he loaded his ships with plunder, and what they could not carry he burned, and obeyed his orders to the letter, "going so far as to use pick and chisel on a large, massive stone on which were engraved the names of the Sieur de Monts with other Captains and the Lilies of France." The whole proceeding was simple piracy without other mitigation than that it did not seem as bad then as it does now. It was the first English blow at French colonization in America. There is a doubtful story to the effect that on his way back to Virginia Argall made a useless capture of the Dutch settlement "at Manhatas Isle in Hudson's River." He soon after sailed for England. 1613 1616

Lands in Fee Simple

In 1615, the London company gave to every freeman, in absolute right, fifty acres of land. This was the first establishment of a fixed individual ownership of the soil of Virginia — a memorable event. In April, 1616, Dale deputed the government to Captain George Yeardley and went to England, accompanied by John Rolfe and the Lady Rebecca. The Lady Rebecca was presented at court by Lady Delaware and excited general admiration.

1616 1619 On the eve of her departure for Virginia with her husband and their infant son, she died. She was buried at Gravesend, where the parish register contains this entry: "Mar. 21, 1616. Rebecca Wrolfe wyffe to Thomas Wrolfe gent., A Virginia lady borne was buried in the chauncell." Some of the best Virginia families proudly claim descent from her, as did "Randolph of Roanoke."

Death of Pocahontas

March 31, 1617, n. s.

In 1616, the restless Argall, captor of Pocahontas and despoiler of Acadia, was elected deputy-governor of Virginia and, early in the following April, took out a hundred settlers with John Rolfe as secretary and recorder-general. With this reinforcement, the colonists numbered only five hundred.

November 20–30

Argall, Yeardley, and Sandys

In 1618, Lord Delaware was sent to Virginia with supplies and nearly two hundred men and women. Because of Argall's shameless conduct in office, orders were soon sent to ship the culprit home to answer. Governor Delaware died upon the passage and the orders were received by the deputy-governor who promptly made the most of his remaining opportunity. After trial, conviction, sentence to death, and commutation of sentence to perpetual banishment, Argall stole away from the colony in April, 1619. In England, the king "slapped him on the back and made him Sir Samuel Argall." Earlier than this, Captain George Yeardley had been knighted and "solemnly chosen" as governor and captain-general of Virginia "onely for three years in certain and afterwards during the Company's pleasure." Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer of the company in London from its first organization, retired with a grant of land in Virginia and a disposition to make trouble in the administration of the company's affairs. He was succeeded by the zealous and sagacious Sir Edwin Sandys, a conspicuous mark of the growing antagonism to the despotic methods of the king. At that time, Virginia was "in a poore estate," but, when the contents of certain documents that Yeardley bore were proclaimed, a thrill ran through the six or seven hundred inhabitants of the colony. Virginia was to have representative government.

November, 1618

1619

The First Colonial Assembly

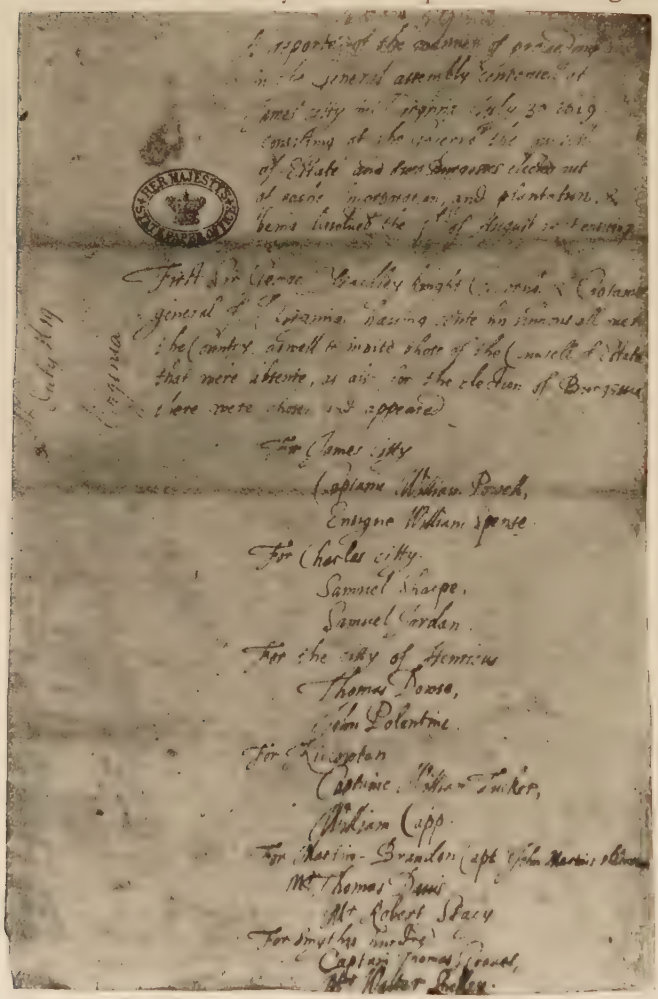
The important documents brought over sea by Yeardley were at least three, viz.—The great charter of privileges, orders, and laws (the "our Magna Charta" of Virginia historians), issued at the preceding Michaelmas term of the quarter court; a commission for establishing a council and general assembly in Virginia; and sundry instructions for the governor, council, and colony. Yeardley arrived in Virginia in April, 1619; his administration is an era in the history of the colony. In accordance with the commission, the governor sent his summons for the election of burgesses, the first step in the separation of governmental functions. More than a year before the "Mayflower" sailed for Plymouth, the first American representative legislature met "in the Quire of the church" at Jamestown. Its first business was to pass upon the credentials of its members. As the patent for Brandon, Captain Martin's plantation on James River, granted by the company in England in 1616, conferred special favors, the jealous majority in the new assembly denied seats to the burgesses from Brandon unless "our very loving friend Captain John Martin, Esquire, Master of the ordinance," would relinquish his exceptional privileges.

November 18–28, 1618

Sir Edwin Sandys

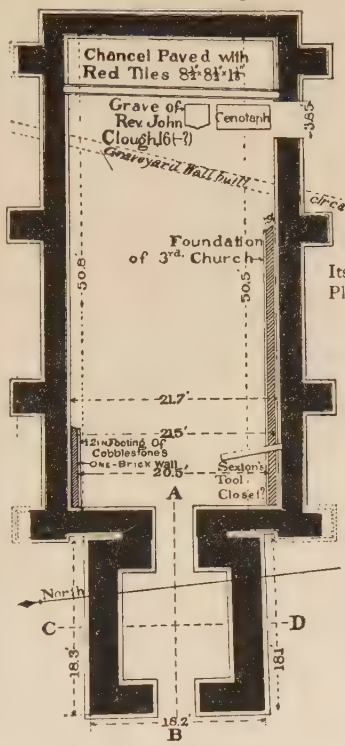
July 30–August 9, 1619

1619 But Martin protested: "I hold my patent for my service don, which noe newe or late comer can meritt or challenge," and declared "that he would not infringe any parte of his Patente." This earliest contest on vested rights in Virginia gave rise to a long-continued and bitter controversy. With the Brandon burgesses excluded, the assembly was composed of the governor, who had the veto power, the members of the council, and two burgesses elected by each of ten boroughs, as the several towns, plantations, and hundreds were styled. For a time, the burgesses sat with the council; in later years, they sat as a lower house, the council forming the corresponding upper house of the assembly. Although two parts of this legislative body, i.e., the governor and the council, were appointed by the council of the company



First Page of the Records of the First Virginia Assembly, July 30, 1619

in London, and although the acts of the assembly were of no force until approved by the council in England, this organization of the local government of a considerable colony on the principle of a suffrage embracing all the payers of a tax had no full precedent. 1619



Plan of the Church at Jamestown
(Copyright, 1904, by Samuel H. Yonge)

Its Meeting-Place

The excavations begun in 1901 brought to light the foundations of a building that are thought to be the substructure of the third church at Jamestown, the meeting-place of the historic assembly of 1619. This third church was probably built of wood in the year 1618. The two earlier churches, "flimsy makeshifts," were within the fort. The foundations recently brought to light make it appear that two brick churches were subsequently built on the site of this third church, and that the tower of the fifth church (probably a restoration of the fourth church which was burned at the time of the Bacon rebellion in 1676) is what now constitutes the most prominent feature of the Jamestown ruins.

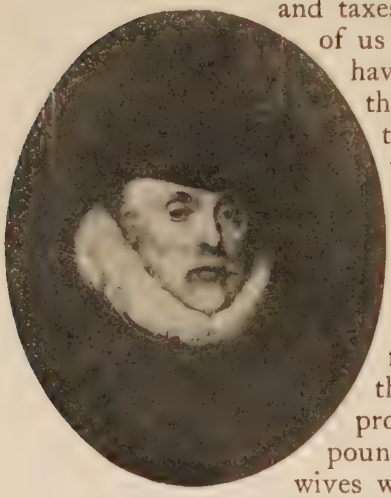
The Great Charter

The "great charter" was divided into four books or parts for reference to committees which made their final reports in August, some of which included amendments or petitions that had to be ratified in England to give them validity. Then "there remaining no further scruple in the minds of the assembly touching the said Great Charter, the Speaker [John Pory] put the same to the question and it passed with the general assent and applause of the whole assembly." Under the provisions of the charter thus ratified by the representatives of the people were

1619 orders for setting aside lands for officers, ministers, company, municipal corporations, a college, etc. Thus, three thousand acres were set aside "to be the land and seat of the governor of Virginia," the earliest provision for the permanent support of a colonial executive in America.

Practical Politics

The assembly also passed many laws of sundry sorts, some of them relating to the church, the Indians, landlords, tenants, servants, etc., "against Idleness, Gaming, drunkenness and excesse in apparell;" in short, to the general conduct of public and private affairs. Thus, rent and taxes were "not to be exacted in money of us (whereof we have none at all, as we have no minte) but the true value of the rent in comodity." Tobacco being thus authorized as a currency, prices were fixed by law, "the best at three shillings and the second at eighteen pence the pounde. And any tobacco whatsoever which shall not prove vendible at the second price shall be immediately burnt before the owner's face." Alexander Brown says that three shillings the pound then was probably equivalent to three dollars per pound now. In the distribution of lands, wives were to be recognized "because in a new plantation, it is not known whether man or woman be the most necessary."



Nicholas Ferrar the Elder

Education

Money was collected and ten thousand acres of land were appropriated for a college at Henricus for white and Indian children. A hundred men were sent to cultivate the land "on halves," under the charge of George Thorpe, the intended rector or president of the college. In 1620, "at the Virginia Court intelligence was given that Mr. Nicholas Ferrar the elder, being translated from this life into a better, had by his will bequeathed £300 towards the converting of infidel's children in Virginia." In 1621, the company resolved that funds should be appropriated for a public free school, preparatory to the projected

university. Although Thorpe was soon killed in an Indian massacre and the college scheme had to wait seventy years, historic justice requires a record of the zeal for education manifested by Sir Edwin Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar. In the first year of Yeardley's administration, the colonists buried three hundred of their number, shipped twenty thousand pounds of tobacco to England, and probably received their first consignment of negro slaves. 1620

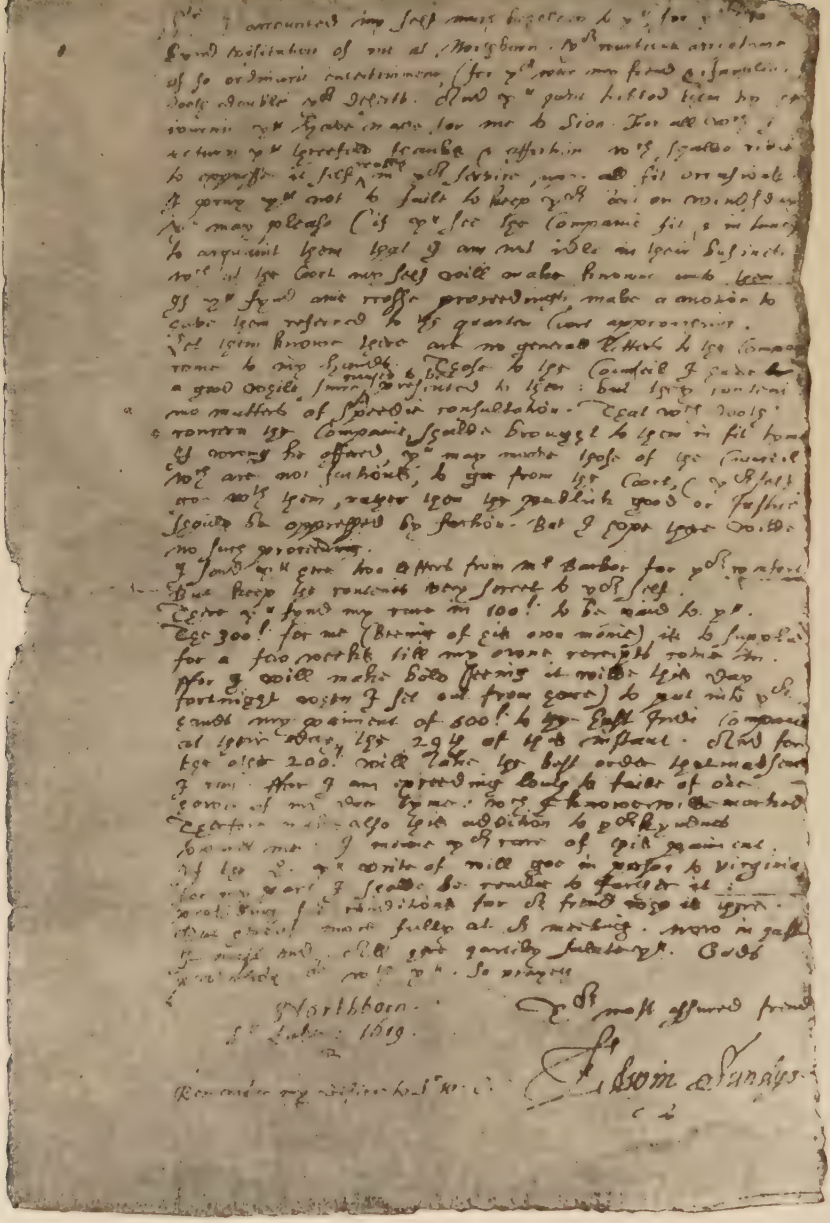
Interference and Rebuke

The council of the Virginia company had many men of influence, and King James was ever watching such for premonitory symptoms of treason against the royal prerogative. At the meeting of the council for the election of officers in May, 1620, the king named four persons and indicated his royal will that from the list the company should choose its treasurer. The interference was in violation of the terms of the patent, but the election was deferred and a committee appointed to confer with his majesty. The king consented to a compromise. "Choose the devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys." Sandys yielded to the ill will of the king and withdrew from the list of candidates. The earl of Southampton, Shakspere's friend, was elected, and Nicholas Ferrar was chosen as his deputy. Sandys continued as one of the ruling spirits of the company, the policy of which was not changed. The rebuke thus administered to the king was as sharp as prudence would permit.

Seal of the Virginia Company

Maids and Wives

At the quarter court held on the twenty-seventh of November, 1619, Sir Edwin Sandys proposed that the company should send, the next spring, one hundred young and uncorrupt maids to become wives. In the following May or June, the "Jonathan" arrived in Vir-



LETTER BY SIR EDWIN SANDYS

ginia with nearly two hundred persons including "many maids for wives," quickly followed by the "London Merchant" with two hundred persons, including more maids for wives. The young women went willingly and soon were well married. Similar semi-social, half commercial speculations followed. Preference in employment was given to married men and, under the active demand, the per capita price of wives rapidly rose above the original consideration of a hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco. Of course, a debt thus incurred was looked upon as a debt of honor. Thus were English homes wrought as corner-stones into an English state. Around the firesides thus established, affection nestled and domestic virtues clustered. Unsettled settlers developed into staunch citizens and Virginia became the home of its inhabitants. But there is a darker side to the pretty picture. According to the census of March, 1620, there were eight hundred and eighty-seven English persons living in Virginia. In the following year, ten ships and ten hundred and fifty-one emigrants set out for the colony, and yet, at the taking of the census of March, 1621, there were only eight hundred and forty-three living there. In other words, the death rate in the summer of 1620 was disastrous. 1620

A Written Constitution April, 1621

Governor Yeardley's commission was about to expire and Sir Francis Wyatt was chosen as his successor. At the same time, George Sandys, a brother of Sir Edwin, was chosen treasurer for the colony, an official that had been asked for by the general assembly of 1619. Wyatt and Sandys soon arrived in Virginia and entered upon their official duties on the eighteenth of November. As the new treasurer, a well-known versifier, was leaving England for Virginia, his friend Drayton gave, as his farewell salute, an injunction to

November 28, n. s.

> Entice the muses thither to repair,
> Entreat them gently; train them to that air.

In obedience, Sandys translated into English verse Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and other classics. In 1622, "the poet, lost in a dream of Ovid and the fine shapes of

1621 Greece, was startled by savage yells"—one of the memorable misfortunes of an Indian massacre. An ordinance adopted by the company established for the colony a written constitution and clearly drew the line between the powers of the governor and those of the assembly. This first charter of free government in America provided for twenty councilors to be known collectively as the council of state. They were to assist and advise the governor, and to be with him a part of the assembly. Among these councilors were the governor and the treasurer, George Thorpe, Doctor Potts, John Rolfe, Ralph Hamor, and Sir George Yeardley who remained in the colony. The ordinance provided for an annual meeting of the assembly and gave the governor the right of veto. Ratification by the company was necessary to give validity to any act of the legislature, and concurrence by the legislature was necessary to give effect to the orders of the company. An intolerable rule of capricious passion, like Argall's, was no longer possible.

July 24, o.s. = August 3, n. s.

George Sandys

Stability Assured

As the struggle for popular liberty in England drew near, Sir Edwin Sandys and his colleagues did what they could to give justice to the colonists and a fair start to the goddess. In spite of the fearful death-roll, emigrants continued to seek Virginia and there was no longer any doubt of the stability of the colony. The Spanish ambassador to England wrote: "Should the plantation go on increasing as under the government of the popular Lord Southampton, my master's West Indies and his Mexico will shortly be visited by sea and by land from those planters in Virginia." In 1621, a windmill was built, the pioneer American iron-works were established at Falling Creek on James River, and the first planting of cotton-seed was followed by "a plentiful coming up."

Ralegh had been dead three years and his "Inglishe

nation" was just beginning to live. English social conditions were ripening wonderfully. The increasing wealth and influence of the middle classes gave them the power to go or to send across the sea; the wasting fortunes and waning prospects of the nobility made them more eager to exchange a losing indolence for adventurous gain; the termination of the continental wars threw the services of gallant thousands upon a glutted market, and forced them and their children to "go west and grow up with the country." The dream of a short route to Cathay was vanishing and navigators were turning their attention to the attainable. The baneful examples of Cortes and Pizarro had led to loss and disappointment, and the blinding craze for gold and sudden wealth had already spent its fury. There were aspirations for liberty in England, and there was a nursery of freemen in Virginia, the germ of a greater Britain over the sea. The time for the successful planting of free colonies had come.

1621

A Conspiracy of Events

Isolated plantations and feeble settlements were scattered up and down the James and toward the Potomac. Since the marriage of Pocahontas, there had been unbroken peace between the English and the Indian. This peace gave rise to a dangerous confidence. The death of the old Powhatan had raised Opechancanough to power and given him his longed-for opportunity. In the morning of the twenty-second of March, 1622, at all the unprotected outposts of Virginia, the Indians fell upon the unsuspecting English in a massacre that meant extermination. Several hundred men, women, and children were cut down in a single hour; in many cases, mutilation of the body followed the death of the victim. The night

Indian Massacre

Silver Service Used at Jamestown Church

April 1, n. s.

1622 before the massacre, a converted Indian revealed the conspiracy to an Englishman whom he would save. In the darkness of night, warning was borne to Jamestown. Much of the colony was saved, for the Indians had a wholesome respect for armed Englishmen on guard. Settlements were abandoned, enterprise was stifled, and healthy activity gave way to sickness and discouragement. The company in England published a list of three hundred and forty-seven killed and afterwards placed the number at "about four hundred," but they had every incentive to minimize the magnitude of the disaster. The exact number of the killed is not known.

Steel Vambrace Unearthed at Jamestown

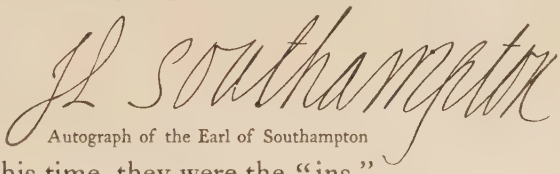
English Retaliation

The mother country was aroused. Shiploads of supplies were sent and King James, who was scheming to regain authority that he had given away by charter, contributed some worthless arms from the London tower. The London council wrote: "The innocent blood of so many Christians doth in justice cry out for revenge. We must advise you to root out a people so cursed. . . . Let them have a perpetual war without peace or truce, and without mercy too." The Virginians anticipated and bettered these instructions. Crops were destroyed, towns were burned, and Indians were shot at sight by the relentless colonists. The line of the Indian frontier in this country was, for the first time, definitely

pushed back by Englishmen. There is a pathetic significance in the fact that the pushing back was continuous for two centuries and a half—i.e., until there was no Indian frontier. 1622

King James, who lost sleep o'nights laying futile plans for the union of his son and the sister of the Spanish monarch, was easily accessible to the Spanish ambassador, and the fascinating Gondomar whispered in the royal ear: "The Virginia courts are but a seminary to a seditious parliament." These "Virginia courts" were the meetings of the rather democratic corporation at London, a power that the king had set free and that now was threatening danger to the doctrine of the divine right of kings. The "seditious parliament" included a hundred members of the London company, and, when parliament was not sitting, the discussions were kept up in the courts of the company. The earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, Nicholas Ferrar, and their adherents constituted the country party; at this time, they were the "ins." The earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Smith (whose accounts as treasurer of the company were still unsettled), and their adherents constituted the court party; they were the "outs." The faction that had lately given Virginia a representative government was a thorn in the side of King James. If he could not defeat it in parliament, he would try to defeat it in the corporation.

Royal Jealousy


Autograph of the Earl of Southampton

Between the struggles of the factions and the antagonism of the king, the company was soon hard pressed and its stock almost worthless. When, in 1621, the commons expressed disapproval of the Spanish match, the king sharply told them to mind their own business. When they protested that "their privileges were not the gift of the crown but the natural birthright of English subjects, and that matters of public interest were within their province," the king tore the protest to pieces, dissolved parliament, and sent Pym and Southampton to

Royal Anger

January, 1622

1622 prison — a sharp illustration of the fact that "judicial and administrative control could be much more easily exercised over a corporation or proprietors resident within the realm than it could over those resident on a distant continent." The lesson and other lessons that came quickly after were not forgotten a few years later by the Englishmen who held a charter for a colony at Massachusetts Bay. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador at London, looked upon the quarrel between the English king and his commons as "the best thing that has happened in the interests of Spain and the Catholic religion since Luther began to preach heresy a hundred years ago." There is little doubt that his influence over James I. (which did not rest alone upon the eagerness of the English monarch for the proposed alliance between Prince Charles and the daughter of the Spanish king) reinforced the promptings of the privy council and the royal party and hastened the growth of the royal purpose to revoke the Virginia patent on the first plausible pretext that he could find. At the same time, each party in the Virginia company was using against the other the charge of "Spanish influence."

Nicholas Ferrar the Younger

The Royal Will

Early in 1623, formal complaint against the London company was laid before the privy council. Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Nicholas Ferrar quickly prepared an answer so complete and forceful that the earl of Warwick secured an order confining them to their own houses, thus preventing further conferences. At the

annual election the king's letter announced: "Our will and pleasure is that you do forbear the election of any officers until tomorrow fortnight at the soonest." The officers were reëlected and the angry James resolved upon the sequestration of the patent of a company that he could not manage. In October, the king announced his determination to resume the supreme control of all colonial affairs. By an overwhelming vote, the company refused the surrender of its charter. 1623 June 25

In the meantime, commissioners had been appointed by the lords of the privy council to investigate the conduct of the company and the condition of the colony. One of these commissioners was Sir Samuel Argall, all of them were members of the royal faction, and their meetings were held at the house of Sir Thomas Smith. We need not doubt that their purpose was to gather materials for the ruin of the company. When some of the commissioners arrived at Jamestown early in 1624, the general assembly was immediately convoked. The royal emissaries tried in vain to obtain a petition for the revocation of the charter. The chief fruit of their visit was an official declaration that reviewed Argall's administration, and concluded with the statement that rather than to be "reduced to live under the like government, we desire his majesty that commissioners may be sent over with authority to hang us." While the commissioners were in Virginia, a new parliament assembled in England, and the Virginia company presented its petition for protection. After a committee had been appointed to consider the petition, the speaker read a message from the king relating to the matter. We do not know just what the royal letter said, but we do know that there was some "soft muttering" and that the petition was withdrawn. The case was taken to the court of king's bench on a writ of *quo warranto*, and the pliant chief-justice declared the patent null and void. Thus Virginia again became a royal province. Royal Plotting April 28, 1624 June 16, 1624

This was the beginning of the transition outlined in the preceding chapter. From this time on, the political trend of British colonial policy was toward a centralization of The Overthrow of the Charter

Eld and Sounds with noble Marriage of Christian in his Government. And moved that seeing the Company had against reason Gen for Governor for 3 years longer they would also consider how to supply Gen for the time to come with the first number of Cavalry and to recompense Gen for his pains. Sir Edwy Sackville Sworn.

Wee, having taken into Consideration it was held best and most reasonable that the Company should make good Gen Contractors Gen. And therefore by a generall order of Lands agreed and ordered that Virginia should be given into Gen of the Plantation. And in respect the Company wanted means to send over more men into Gen that Lands be unpeopled) the first number out last the Commanded Cavalry here. And for to recompense Gen formed before it was referred to the Consideration of the Quarter Courts.

Upon the like motion and request in the behalf of Mr George Sandys Treasurer. It was agreed and ordered by a generall order of Lands (only one dissentient) that Gen men the Company had promised to send Gen but wanted means to make it good. Lands be now furnished supplied out of the Compound Cavalry.

Mr Bell Treasurer for the old Magazine moved that whereas Mr Alderman Johnson hath Three Hundred and odd pounds remaining in his hands long since due to the Magazine Adventurers which Accompt in respect of some differences was referred to Mr Alderman Hammersley and Mr Wilcox to examine and arbitrate: but for the money as Mr Willock was gone to Gravesend 5 or 6 days would now forfeit against some other in the stead and the rather for that Mr Alderman John is tied to give an Accompt before August next. This was referred to the Quarter Court to consider of.

Edw Collingwood

Memorandum

That we Edward Collingwood Secretary of the Company for Virginia and Thomas Collett of the Middle Temple Gentleman have forthwith remembered and examined this present book beginning at Page 1 at a Preparatiue Courtbook for Virginia the 20th of May 1622 and ending at the present Page - 387 at a Preparatiue Court held the 8 of July 1624. And we do find that this (upon doubt) perfectly agree with the Original Books of Court belonging to the Company in all things save that in Page - 371 the Grant of 800 Acres to Mr Maurice Berkley is not entered and said that in Page 350, not numbered the book Bill to Mr Deputy Ferrar. So that we could not compare it, and likewise saithing that in Page 348 not numbered as Governor and Captain General of Virginia. So that we could not compare it, which report Edward Collingwood desired that it may hereafter these Pages, first to all be rectified. We have for my Lord Treasurer to carry in confirmation that (they) agreed truely with the Originalls, and in witness and confirmation that this booke is a true Copy of the Virginia Courtes Wee have hereunto subscribed our Hands the 19th day of June — 1624.

Thomas Collett.

Edward Collingwood Secretary.

LAST PAGE OF THE NICHOLAS FERRAR COPY OF THE RECORDS OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON

colonial administration and the more immediate subjection of the plantations to the home government. In the preparation of the charter that constituted the Virginia corporation, attention had been fixed upon commercial regulations; the rise of an empire was not anticipated. The grants of territory and of jurisdiction were so large and liberal, and the distance of the colonies from England was so great that it proved unexpectedly difficult to check the tendency toward independence and self-control that the company and the colonists almost immediately manifested. Ten days after the rendering of the final verdict against the company, the privy council ordered the surrender of books and papers. The order was obeyed. Fortunately, Nicholas Ferrar, foreseeing the coming doom of the corporation, had caused a copy of the records to be made, carefully compared, and officially attested. This copy, which is incomplete, is now in the library of congress at Washington. If "all the court books and all other writings" belonging to the company were transcribed as Ferrar had directed, the records now missing may yet be found. The originals are not in the British archives; they probably were destroyed. 1624

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT AT MANHATTAN

1609
1628

Dutch East India Company

IN a territory wrested from the sea, dwelt a vigorous and prosperous people whom oppression had welded into a republic. The attempted introduction of the inquisition and the ferocities of the Spanish duke of Alva drove Holland and her six sister provinces into insurrection and a war of independence. The struggle developed a heroism greater than the inequality of the contestants and made the Dutch the foremost naval power in the world. From the war came two Dutch corporations of extraordinary magnitude. When, in 1580, Philip II. united Portugal and Spain and began war upon England, the English were forced to buy India produce of the Dutch. When Dutch vessels were excluded from Spanish and Portuguese ports, Dutch enterprise opened an ocean way of its own around Africa. The Dutch East India company was formed in 1602. Its success was immediate; within twenty years, it enriched its shareholders, accumulated immense possessions, and created an empire.

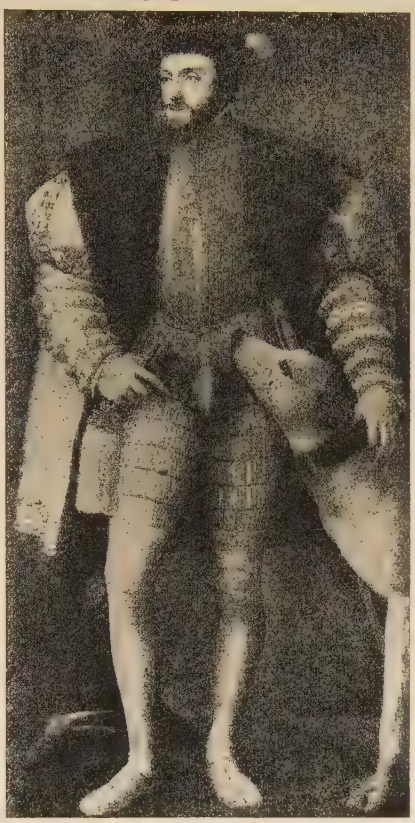
Henry Hudson

At this time, the Spanish had a feeble colony at Saint Augustine, the English were dying at Jamestown, and the French were maintaining a precarious foothold at Quebec and on the Bay of Fundy. Spain had plundered Mexico and Peru, and the English and the French had robbed the robbers upon the high seas. Other profits from the New World none of them had. The Muscovy company of England had twice sent Henry Hudson seeking the northeast passage, and twice had Henry Hudson returned

from the frozen wall that barred his way. The prosperous rival of the English traders then took up the task. The Dutch East India company summoned Hudson from London to Amsterdam and engaged him for immediate service. On the fourth of April, five days before the truce with Spain and a few weeks before the English Pilgrims moved from Amsterdam to Leyden, he sailed from Amsterdam in the "Half Moon," a vessel of eighty tons. His instructions were to seek a new passage to the East and "to think of discovering no other routes or passages except the route around by the north and northeast above Nova Zembla."

1609

January 8



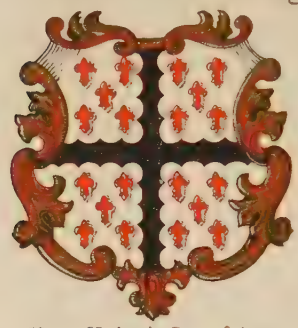
Charles V

The experienced navigator worked up the Norway coast and turned the North Cape. But something chilled the fervor of the crew of fewer than twenty Dutch and English sailors. In spite of his instructions, about the middle of May, the man in the "Half Moon" put his ship about and pushed into the Atlantic. Six weeks later, the little craft and its crew were on the banks off Newfoundland and not in the ultra-Siberian ice-packs as the Amsterdam directors imagined. About the middle of July, Hudson anchored in Penobscot Bay and began repairs on his ship which was much the worse for wear. The wanton crew plundered an Indian village on the

In New York Harbor

1609 shore and Hudson prudently set sail at once. He touched at Cape Cod seven years after Gosnold, passed Nantucket and Marthas Vineyard, and reached the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. He thence sailed northward, found "a very good harbour" inside Sandy Hook, and spent the first week of September in the lower bay. From his anchorage he saw what we call the Narrows, a broad stream rising and falling with the tide, just as it did when Verrazano was there eighty-five years before. The natives told him that it came from beyond the mountain ranges that he saw in the further distance; he thought that here might be the long-sought passage to Cathay. On the eleventh, the "Half Moon" floated slowly with the tide between the wooded shores of Staten and Long islands, sailed across the upper bay, and at night cast anchor, the only foreign ship in New York harbor.

September 4



Henry Hudson's Coat of Arms

The New York and Albany Boat

On following days, gentle winds and favoring tides bore them by the cheap wild lands of Manhattan Island, by the stately Palisades, through the broadening Tappaan Zee, and against the stronger current of the unexplored river as it forced its way through the dark magnificence of the highlands. Hudson thus ascended the "Great North River" to the vicinity of modern Troy. He now clearly saw that this was not the open way to the South Sea, but little dreamed that a few miles further north another brave explorer was routing the Romans of the New World, and that a few miles further south John Smith was parleying with the tawny lords on the upper waters of the Chesapeake. Thus the Dutch, the French, and the English made a simultaneous sowing of the seeds of the great struggle for commercial and political supremacy in North America. As Hudson and Champlain wrote their names upon the map, neither dreamed that, in the next century, the great struggle between England and France would be fiercely waged in those

Tackle, by my speedy returne, and not by foolish rashnesse, the time being wasted, to lay more charge vpon the action then necessitie should compell, I arriued at *Graueſend* the ſix and twentieth of Auguſt.

CHAP. XVI.

The third Voyage of Master HENRIE HVDSON *toward* Noua Zembla, *and at his returne, his passing from* Farre *Ilands, to* New-found Land, *and along to fortie foure degrees and ten minutes, and thence to* Cape Cod, *and so to thirtie three degrees; and along the Coast to the Northward, to fortie two degrees and an halfe, and vp the Riuer neere to fortie three degrees. Written by* ROBERT IVET *of* Lime-house.

IN Saturday the fiue and twentieth of March, 1609. after the old Account, we set sayle from *Amsterdam*; and by the seuen and twentieth day, we were downe at the *Texel*: and by twelue of the clocke we were off the Land, it being East of vs two leagues off. And because it is a journey vsually knowne, I omit to put downe what passed, till we came to the height of *The North Cape of Finmarke*, which we did performe by the fift of May (*stilo nouo*) being Tuesday. On which day we obserued the height of the Pole, and found it to bee 71. degrees and 46. minutes; and found our Compasse to vary six degrees to the West: and at twelue of the clocke, the North Cape did beare South-west and by South, tenne leagues off, and wee steered away East and by South, and East. May 5. *stilo nouo.*

After much trouble with fogges, sometimes, and more dangerous of Ice. The nineteenth, being Tuesday, was close stormie weather, with much wind and snow, and very cold: the wind variable betweene the North North-west, and North-east. We made our way West and by North till noone. Then we obserued the Sunne hauing a flake, and found our heigth to bee 70. degrees 30. minutes. And the ship had out-runne vs twentie leagues, by reason of the set of the streame of *The White Sea*: and we had sight of *Wardhouse*. Then at two of the clocke wee tackt to the Eastward: for we could not get about the North Cape, the wind was so scant; and at eight of the clocke at night, on the one and twentieth, the North Cape did beare South-east and by South seuen leagues off. And at mid-night *Assumption* Point did beare South and by East, fiue leagues off vs. *Beat: Mari: Wardhouse.* They doubled the North Cape. *Assumption Point.*

The two and twentieth, gusting weather with haile and snow, the Sunne breaking out sometimes: we continued our course along the Land West South-west. And at tenne of the clocke at night we were thwart off *Zenam*. The bodie of it did beare East off vs fiue leagues: and the course from the North Cape to *Zenam*, is for the most part West and by South, and West South-west, fiftie foure leagues. *Zenam.*

The three and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather; the wind at East and by South, and East South-east, wee steered along the Land South-west, and South-west and by West, eight leagues a Watch, for so we found the Land to lye from *Zenam* to *Lofoote*. And the distance is fiftie leagues from the bodie of *Zenam*, to the Westermost Land of *Lofoote*. And from the one to the other, the course is South-west and by West. For the Needle of our Compasse was set right to the North. At twelue of the clocke at night, the bodie of *Lofoote* did beare South-east, sixe leagues off. *Lofoote.*

The foure and twentieth, faire cleere Sun-shining weather: the wind variable vpon all points of the Compasse, but most vpon the South-east, and sometimes calme. We continued our course West South-west as before. And at eight of the clocke at night, the Souther part of *Lofoote* did beare South-east ten leagues off vs.

The fiue and twentieth, much wind at North-east, with some snow and haile. The first watch the wind came to the East a fine gale, and so came to the North-east, the second watch at foure of the clocke, and freshed in: And at eight of the clocke it grew to a storme, and so continued. At noone we obserued, and made the ship to be in 67. degrees 58. minutes. Wee continued our course South-west, twelue leagues a watch. At nine of the clocke, *Lofoote* did beare East off vs 15. leagues off. And we found the Compasse to haue no variation. The wind increased to a storme. No variation.

The six and twentieth, was a great storme at the North North-east, and North-east. Wee steered away South-west afore the wind with our fore-course abroad: for wee were able to maintayne no more sayles, it blew so vehemently, and the Sea went so high, and brake withall, that it would haue dangered a small ship to lye vnder the Sea. So we skudded seuenty leagues in foure and twentie houres. The storme began to cease at foure of the clocke.

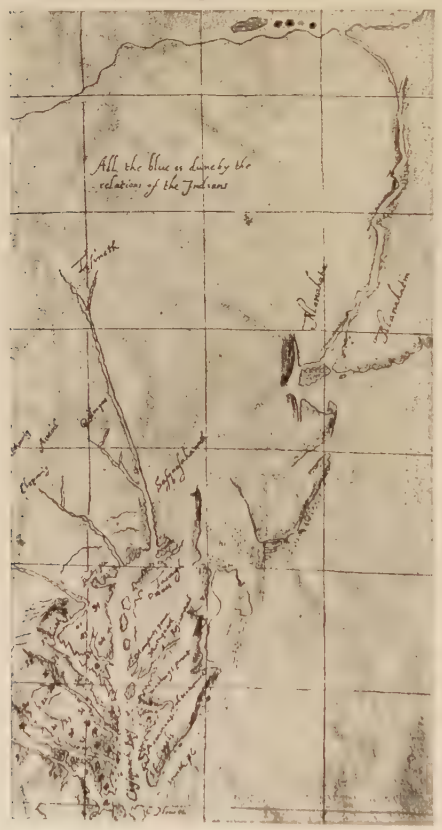
The seuen and twentieth, indifferent faire weather, but a good stiffe gale of wind at North, and

FIRST PAGE OF IVET'S JOURNAL DESCRIBING HUDSON'S VOYAGE

1609 peaceful regions and decided on the Heights of Abraham.

Hudson's Return and Death

On the fourth of October, Hudson left the river that was to bear his name and was homeward bound across the ocean. On the seventh of November, about the time of John Smith's return from Virginia, the "Half Moon" landed in England and was detained there for months. The English government forbade the Dutch ship's English captain again to leave his country for foreign service. Hudson sent his maps, charts, and full reports to his Amsterdam employers and entered the service of the Muscovy company. In the following year, he sailed again to seek a northwest passage. After discovering and exploring Hudson Bay and spending a winter there, the explorer and eight companions were forced into a small boat by a mutinous and brutal crew and abandoned. They were never heard of after. Henry Hudson's record is as brief and brilliant as a meteor's flash, and the waste of waters that bears his name is his tomb and monument. At this time, the English king and the London company had competent surveyors in America, actively engaged in securing and forwarding to them all obtainable information concerning the



Section of the Stolen Map of 1610

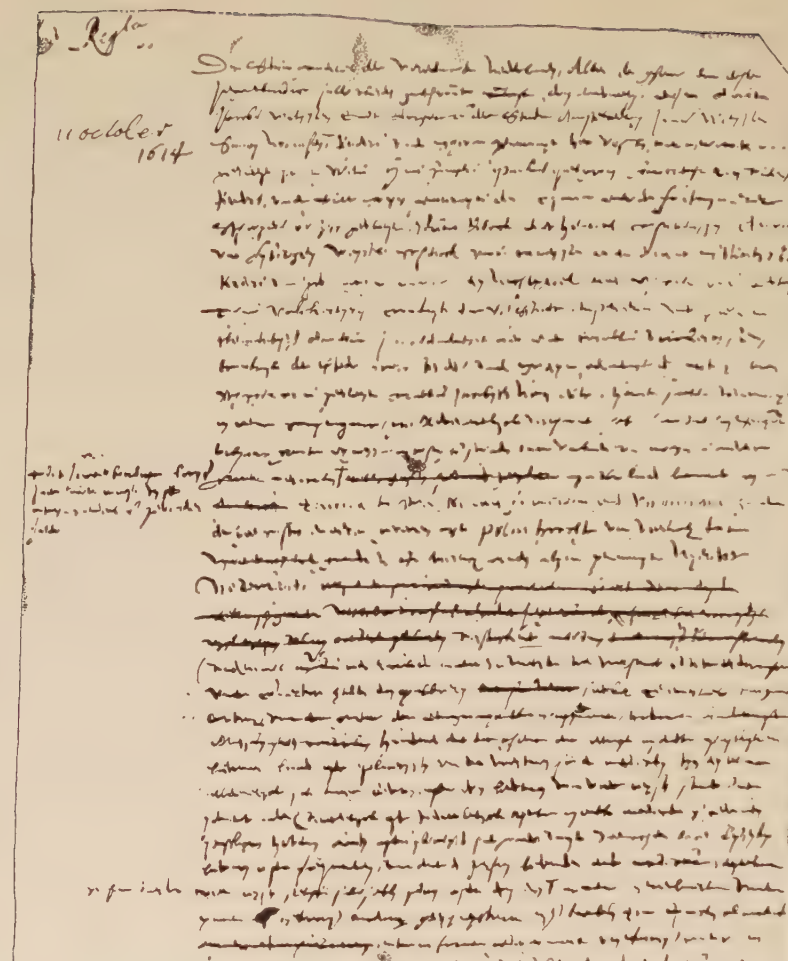
cartography of the country. In some secret way, at least one of these maps fell into the hands of the Spanish ambassador at London who sent it to his royal master 1611 1614

New Amsterdam Begun

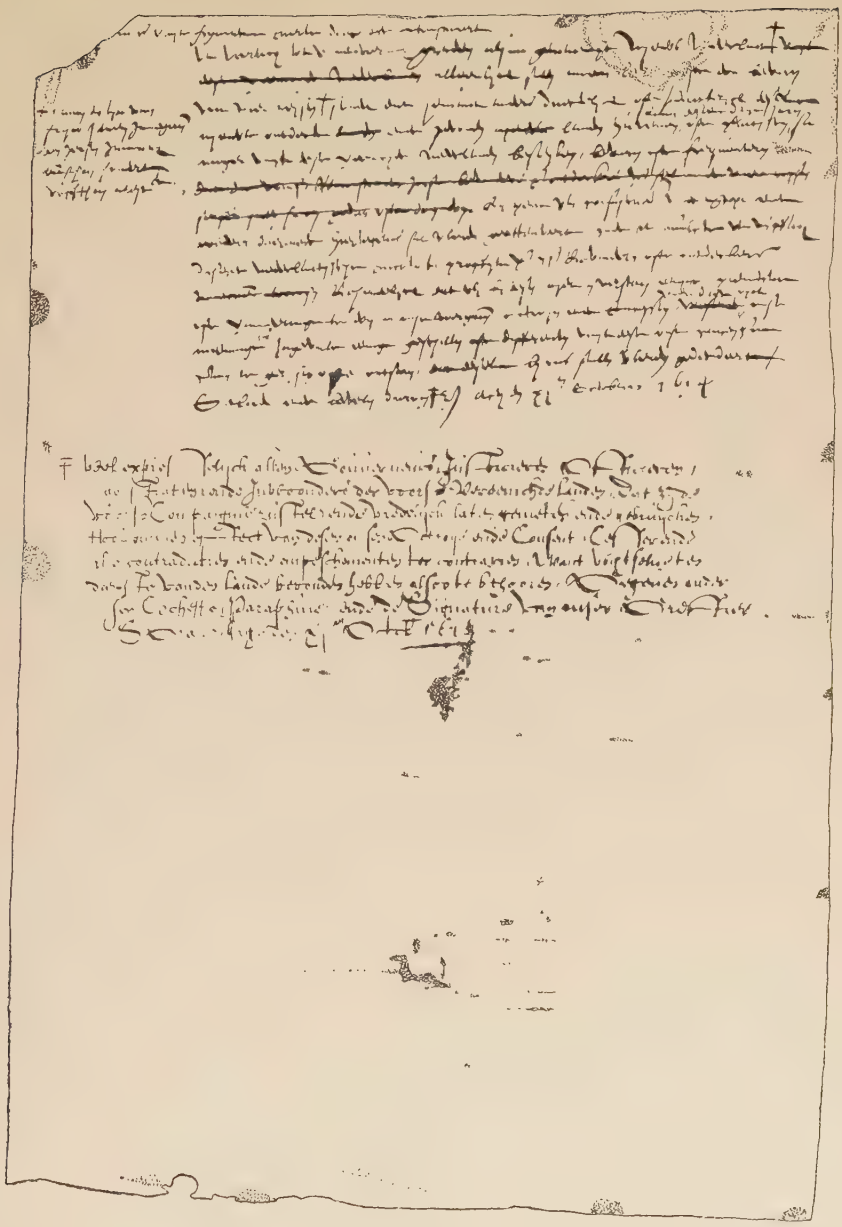
Hudson had borne back to Europe a report of a new country and a store of otter and beaver skins. The news of a magnificent domain, to which their claim was better than any other, seems not to have stirred the phlegm of the Netherlanders. The states-general made no effort to encourage colonization or to affirm their rights in the matter. But those furs warmed the very blood of Dutch traders and many successful adventurers soon followed in Hudson's track. A fort and a few houses were built on Manhattan Island and trading-posts established at advantageous points like Albany.

Adrian Block

On the twenty-seventh of March, 1614, the states-general passed a resolution granting certain monopoly rights for a limited period to persons making new discoveries. From the confused and contradictory accounts, it appears that under the pledges of this octroi, certain Dutch merchants formed a company that almost immediately sent out five ships. Among the commanders of these ships were Adrian Block and Hendrick Christiaensen (who previously had been at Manhattan on their joint private account) and Cornelius Jacobsen May. Block's boat, the "Tiger," filled with bearskins and ready to sail for Amsterdam, was accidentally burned at its anchorage just off the southern point of Manhattan Island. In that lonely place and from oaks that had stood near where Wall street is today, Block and his men built as best they could "a yacht with a keel thirty-eight feet long, forty-four and a half feet from stem to stern, and eleven and a half feet wide" — the first vessel built by the Dutch in this country. In 1890, a tablet was set up at 41–45 Broadway, New York City, to commemorate the event. This yacht they called the "Onrust," i.e., the "Restless" — name prophetic of the spirit of the place. Passing the islands in the East River, the "Restless" made the first known passage through Hell Gate and sailed into a beautiful inland sea. We call that sea Long Island



FIRST PAGE OF THE NEW NETHERLAND CHARTER, 1614



Second Page of the New Netherland Charter, 1614

1614 1619 Sound; we might well call it Adrian's Sea, the western Adriatic. The Dutch explorer then ascended the Connecticut, rediscovered the island that now bears his name, sailed by Cape Cod into waters where John Smith was making maps, fell in with Christiaensen and his ship the "Fortune," and returned to Holland.

New Netherland

In that year, the New Netherland company was formed and granted a three years' monopoly of the trade of the region "between New France and Virginia, being the seacoast between forty degrees and forty-five degrees," to which the name "New Netherland" was now first officially applied. The little round-prowed vessels of the Dutch slowly sailed up-stream and floated down, establishing the Dutch fur trade, and earning fat profits for the Amsterdam proprietors. In 1619, Captain Dermer sailed an English ship through Long Island Sound and lost an anchor in the eddies of Hell Gate. As he escaped that "most dangerous cataract" and dreamed that he was its discoverer, he was surprised to see the hamlet of Manhattan. The "loving subject of the king of England" warned the intruders to leave his majesty's domains, but the Dutch continued to tend their gardens and to smoke their pipes in spite of Captain Dermer's bluster.

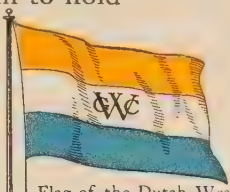
Dutch West India Company

One element of the commercial strength of Holland consisted of Protestant refugees from Belgium, who opposed peace with Spain on any terms while their country remained under the Spanish yoke. Some of these studied out and pushed forward a scheme for the organization of a company of private adventurers to prey upon Spanish commerce and thus to cripple the resources of an enemy that relied upon its American possessions for the sinews of war. They would combine patriotism with profit, force Spain to evacuate Belgium, and become individually rich. The project for such a company won the strong support of Maurice, the prince of Orange, and the strenuous opposition of John of Barneveld who was virtually the states-general.

An Old Dutch Windmill

The partisans on both sides were fearless and influential, and Holland was in danger of civil war. The twelve years' truce with Spain made it impossible for the Dutch government to give its sanction to the proposed warlike corporation within that period. After the execution of Barneveld, a subscription list was started for a Dutch West India company. The leader in the movement was William Usselinx, an exiled Belgian merchant. But the government was tired of war and the proposed company made little headway. Unwittingly the English government turned the scale. 1619 1621 May 13, 1619

King James sent word to the states-general that their subjects had unlawfully settled on lands that he had granted to the Plymouth council for New England, and Dutch statesmen saw that the only way for them to hold New Netherland was to occupy it. A new clause requiring the colonization of the Dutch territory in America was quietly inserted in the draft of the constitution for the company. The government gave direct encouragement, large sums of money were quickly subscribed, and by 1621, the Dutch West India company was an accomplished fact. The charter conferred a monopoly of Dutch trade in Africa from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and in America from Newfoundland to further Patagonia. It established a powerful commercial corporation and gave to it all the functions of a government with absolute power over the Dutch territory in America. The general affairs of the company were managed by directors, collectively styled the "College of Nineteen." The company might do almost what it pleased; the government assumed no responsibility. By this time, the Pilgrims were planting corn at Plymouth and another Spanish war was overhanging Holland. Colonization Prescribed



Flag of the Dutch West India Company

The new company started out boldly with expeditions to the West Indies and to Brazil. The prizes captured from the Spaniards were of such value that the shareholders received from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent on their investments, but as to colonizations the company Colonization Neglected

1623 did little more than to satisfy the states-general that the contract would some time be carried out. The trade in furs looked insignificant in comparison with the capture of gold by the ship-load. The company that sent out Henry Hudson paid no notice to the country that he found and, in 1623, the West India company took formal possession of New Netherland. The Dutch wedge was thus thrust between lands occupied by the English. Captain Cornelius Jacobsen May and Adrian Jorissen Tienpont were sent out as directors. The former wrote his name across the terminal cape of New Jersey, sailed up the Prince Hendrick or South River (the Delaware), and built Fort Nassau on the New Jersey shore about four miles below the site of Philadelphia. Tienpont strengthened the settlement at Manhattan, sailed up the Mauritius or North River (the Hudson), built a new fort near the site of Albany, and called it Fort Orange.

The Dutch West India Company's House at Amsterdam

Walloons

In this year, the first colonists arrived with Captain May in the ship "New Netherland." Thirty families of Protestant fugitives, the Walloons, driven by religious persecution from their homes in the South Netherlands, sought safety and prosperity in the New World. They were a thrifty people and easily took to agriculture and traffic with the Indians. Unfortunately for the West India company, its territorial claims were rather vague. Its charter fixed the northern boundary at Canada, and in view of the New England settlements this was an absurdity. The failure of the theoretical frontier of the

Dutch gave force to the advice of the shrewd English minister at the Hague "to put forward our plantations and crowd on, crowding the Dutch out of those places where they have occupied." In 1624, the Manhattan colonists declared that they were getting along bravely. 1626

In 1626, Peter Minuit became director-general with a council of five. He bought the island of Manhattan from the Indians for sixty guilders or about twenty-four dollars. The letter written by Peter Jans Schaghen, a member of the "Assembly of the XIX" of the West India company, announcing to the states-general the purchase of "the island Manhattes" is still preserved in the royal archives at the Hague. Minuit soon united the different Dutch settlements and thus laid the corner-stone of our present Empire State. The southern extremity of the more than twenty thousand acres that Minuit bought was chosen for "The Battery," a stone fort was begun, and the town was named New Amsterdam. Diplomatic intercourse was established with the Plymouth Pilgrims. Governor Bradford courteously received the congratulations sent in 1627, but with his benediction mixed a reminder that they, the Dutch, were living where they had no right "to plant or trade."

Peter Minuit

November 5

Seal of New Netherland

In 1628, Old Amsterdam had become "beyond dispute the first commercial city of the world; the Tyre of modern times; the Venice of the north; the queen of all the seas." At New Amsterdam there were thirty rude dwellings with roofs of straw and wooden chimneys, and a population of two hundred and seventy including Dutch, Walloons, slaves from Angola, "and so many odds and ends of humanity that, twenty years after Hudson had discovered Manhattan, fourteen languages were spoken in its streets." Although New Amsterdam was thus, from the beginning, the most cosmopolitan city in America, no minister and no schoolmaster had been provided. The best that can be said for the company in this respect is that, in 1626, two "visitors of the sick" with semi-

The Cosmopolitan Metropolis

'S RYKS ARCHIEF.

Amst. 5. 7 November 1626

Edoyche Mogende Heeren

Huc is gheslit t'Schip t'wapen van Amsterdam achterhoms sedert is de 23 septem uyt Nieu Nederlant gheseylt uyt de Rivier Mauritius. rapporteert dat ons volck daer hier is te verdrogen hebben sare weerdigh gebeeg oor hunder atwart gebaert hebben t'eylant Manhatter van de wilden gekocht, voor de waerde van 60. guld. is groot 11000 morgen. hebbende alle hoeven gelt mey. geseyt, dese zelf augusto gemayd. Dack van gesuiker minsterlaeb van zemuckhoeven, als taxus, Heggen, garsse, gaben boudwijt, kruysgaet, boontjes te vlas.

Het Cargasoen van t'selve schip is

7246 witte wilden
178½ witte wilden
675. witte wilden
48. Mulle wilden
36 Catters wilden
33 Minckes
34 Witte wilden.

Wel dyken balcken, t Notch-Gout.

Huc mede

Hoogh Mogende Heeren, uyt de Generaliteyt van Oostindien.

Jn Amsterdam den 5. novem a° 1626.

Geve Hoo: Moo: Diensten Rijcke

P. Schaghen

clerical functions had been sent over. But in the early part of this year, Jonas Michaëlius set out from Amsterdam. He arrived at Manhattan in April, the first Dutch minister in New Netherland. These things forcibly suggest that the Manhattan Dutch had come to trade and not to make permanent homes. The company's ships sailed thence with rich cargoes for Holland, but there was little doing in the way of colonizing New Netherland. The West India company was a commercial corporation with trading-posts and agents — little more.

1628

January 24

The fur trade prospered, agriculture languished. Every ship that came from Holland bore needed food; but settlers did not come and no effort was made to send them. And yet New Netherland (strange misnomer for so mountainous a region!) occupied the most advantageous position in North America. It sent its streams to the Saint Lawrence, the Atlantic, and the Gulf of Mexico. Superb rivers had opened ways through the hindering mountains and joined the great lakes to the valley of the Hudson, while "the lovely Juniata" almost joined the Susquehanna to the currents that united to form the Ohio. With such pathways in every direction, New Netherland was the military and commercial key to the continent.

The Continental Key

Totems of New York Indian Tribes

CHAPTER V

THE GROWTH OF SEPARATISM IN ENGLAND

The Protestant Reformation

THESE were days of quickening life. An English Bible and the Lollard leaven prepared the way for a revolt against the papacy. Luther sprang up in Germany, a moral volcano that shot its glare across western Europe and aroused its people to a new activity. Aided by an amorous eruption on the throne, England cut loose from Rome and snatched her crown

1531

from the shadow of the tiara. At Geneva, Calvin, whom John Fiske has called the constitutional lawyer of the Reformation, fed English refugees from the Marian persecution upon a theology that, in its ultimate analysis, shows rich in the essentials of personal freedom. In the land where Wyclif, "the morning star," had taught, John Knox preached to peasantry and royalty, and "raised the poor commons of his country into a strong and rugged people . . . whom neither king nor priest could force again to submit to tyranny." In such an age, no man could dominate all minds or terrify them into acquiescence. On the part of the people, the English Reformation was a purely religious movement; on the part of the king and parliament, it was a politico-ecclesiastical revolution. For generations, the preponderance of power swung like a pendulum between the old order and the new. When the government determined that the Reformation should go no further, the radicals were disappointed and dissatisfied and Englishmen were divided into three antagonistic and intolerant parties — Roman, Anglican, and Puritan.

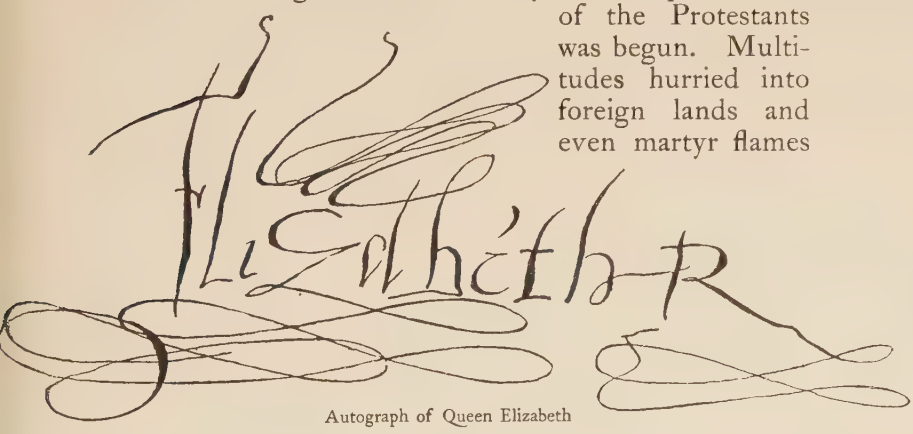
1531
1558

Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans

The Catholics were those who recognized the pope as their ecclesiastical head, as all Englishmen for centuries had done until Henry VIII. renounced the papal supremacy and parliament decreed that "whatsoever his majesty shall enjoin in matters of religion should be obeyed by all his subjects." They were largely "common people" and, in Elizabeth's reign, were numerically stronger than either of the other parties. The Anglicans were Protestants adhering to the ministry and communion of the English church as established by royal and parliamentary authority. They "adopted all the rites and pageantry then retained by the church of England and asked for more rather than less." In the reign of Elizabeth, they were fewer than the Puritans. The Puritans believed in the fitness of an established national church. But they looked upon an unfinished reform, protested against any arrest of development, and viewed with alarm the close adherence to the ritual of Rome. Their demand was not for more liberty in the church but for more complete reformation of the church. "The seamless garment was to be clean, but by no means to be rent."

English Exiles

Under the reign of Queen Mary, a fierce persecution of the Protestants was begun. Multitudes hurried into foreign lands and even martyr flames



Autograph of Queen Elizabeth

could not encompass the apostasy of those who remained. With the accession of Elizabeth came the returning exiles,

1558 with Dutch ideas of civil and religious liberty and a theology that could not be reconciled with the tendencies and dominating influences of the English church. Each of their independent churches was a model and, at the same time, gave to its members an effective drill in the principles of local self-government.

Politics and Religion

It will be difficult to understand the coming controversy unless we keep in mind the political environment. A Protestant queen was upon the throne, but a devotee of Rome was next heir to the crown which Catholic potentates with armies and fleets were eager to place upon her head. English Protestants regarded Rome as a menace to the existence of the English nation. The pope had issued his bull excommunicating and deposing the queen and releasing her subjects from allegiance to her. Catholic nobles in the north of England raised the standard of rebellion. Plots to assassinate the queen were charged to the Catholic party and led to the execution of Mary of Scotland. Priests were preaching that it was the duty of the faithful to fight against the queen at the bidding of the pope. The Catholic element in England was dangerous and Elizabeth saw that it was of great importance to conciliate it. She, therefore, sought to reduce as far as possible the visible differences between the church of England and the church of Rome. The likeness of the two churches was so great that it gave rise to the declaration that "the old popish priests of Queen Mary found nothing in the divine service to offend their scruples," and to the taunt that "the English drove the pope out of England so hastily that they forced him to leave his garments behind him."

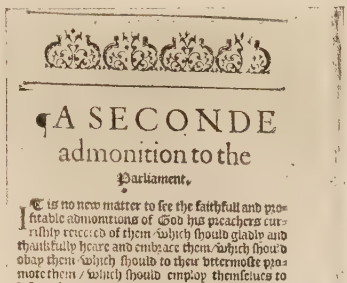
Puritan Hatred of Papal Insignia

To the queen, the rites, ceremonies, and vestments of the English church were important not because they had been ordained by law; they were ordained by law because they were politically important. To the Puritan, the surplice was the badge of a corrupt and idolatrous church; kneeling at the sacrament and other prescribed ceremonies were as offensive as any of the rites of paganism. "Mathematical caps with four corners" and "theatrical

dresses" on the clergy were papal insignia and, therefore, 1559
detested as much as was sin. The garments were neither 1571
good nor bad, and were not referred to in the Bible; but "to use the outward show and manner of the wicked is to approve their false doctrine. God forbid that we, by wearing the popish attire, should seem thereby to consent to their blasphemies and heresies." Thus to rigid churchman and to non-conforming Puritan these things were the symbols of eternal and essential truth or error. Back of English Puritanism was an intense hatred of Roman Catholicism. "In the alembic of the day, vapors became solids; chaff, poison; stubble, steel."

Separatists

In 1559, the parliamentary statutes of supremacy and uniformity placed the English church under civil jurisdiction, where it has remained to this day. The act of supremacy made Queen Elizabeth the supreme governor of the church. The act of uniformity established the Book of Common Prayer and prescribed penalties for any deviation from its directions. In 1565, the queen issued a proclamation demanding strict conformity to what she held to be established and perfected, but many of the Puritans held loyally to their fundamental position. For example, Thomas Cartwright, who in 1571 was a divinity professor at Cambridge, the headquarters of advanced Puritanism, was deprived of his dignity and soon found it convenient to seek refuge on the continent. Not long after his return to England, his *Admonition to Parliament* brought him into trouble that led up to imprisonment. Furthermore, it was soon seen that there



¶A SECONDE
admonition to the
Parliament.

IT is no new matter to see the faithfull and profitable admonitions of God his preachers curtesly received of them which should gladly and thankfully heare and embrace them, which should obay them which should to their vttermoste promote them, which should employ themselues to defend them: and yet it is as olde a custome as it is lamentable, to hate such as should be most frends, most foes. To leaue the eldest times, when a Abel found no worse treatie then Caine his owne brother, when Isaac b persecuted Isaac when Esau c Jacob, when Joseph d was persecuted by his owne brethren, when Moses e was faine to flee from Egypte breause of the Jewes, and so forthe till the time of the Prophetes when e Jeremie found least fauor at the priests handes, when Oseah saythe that Gilead the g colledge of priestes was a citie of wicked doers, and polluted with bloud, when Amos sayd so till retreated by h Amasia the priest of Bethel yea leaving the e and comming neater, when our Saueure Christe grieth i woe to the Scribes and Pharisees, the interpreters of Godes lawe, breause of their hypocrisie, who though they would faine seeme holy, yet had they not the hearteres to perce to the truth preached by oure saiuoure, breause their credits

a Gen.4.8.
b Gal.4.29.
c Ge.37.4
d Ge.37.2
e Exod.12.
f 23.14.
g Jere.26.
h Amos 7.10
i Math.23.13.14.36.

First Page of Thomas Cartwright's Tract

1571–1580 were penalties for non-conforming laity as well as for non-conforming clergy. The oppression of conformist measures gave birth to a new party. Men began to talk of secession from the established church and to urge a "reformation without tarrying for any." As the Puritans unwillingly had sprung from the conformist Churchmen, so the Separatists were segregated from the Puritans. They claimed the right to gather by themselves as a church without any special sanction of the civil authority. They not only would not conform to the discipline of the church, they utterly renounced all connection with it. "Those base, beggarly ceremonies were unlawful, and the lordly, tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to." Their demanded liberty of prophesying was too much like the modern liberty of the press to accord with the safety of the rulers.

Three Protestant Parties

The majority of the Puritans continued as non-conformist Churchmen, while the Separatists (or Brownists, as they were often called) were hounded with every terror of the law. But penalties and prisons, exiles and hangings, could not choke out the protests and indignant passion of those who gave sole authority to the Scriptures, and held up "the Word" in antagonism to "the Church." In conscientious men, conscience is an obstinate thing. There were now four parties in England, one Catholic and three Protestant. The three were those who were content with things as they were, those who were discontented but proposed to stay where they were, and those who boldly resolved to make a new start in what they believed to be an older and a better way.

Brownists

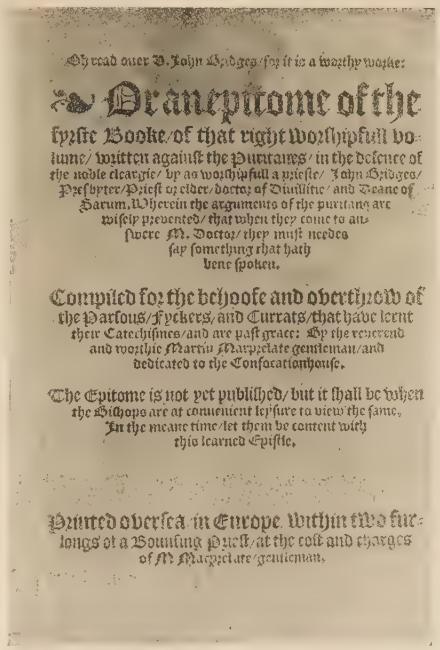
It is not easy to determine when or where separatism had its beginning. The first organized Separatist church of which we have definite information was formed at Norwich about 1580 by Robert Browne, a graduate of Cambridge. From him the Separatists received the name of Brownists. In 1592, the privy council received an "humble petition of her highnesses faithful subjects, falsely called Brownists," asking that they might peace-

Autograph of Browne

ably depart for "the province of Canada, where, by the providence of the Almighty, and her majesty's most gracious favor, we may not only worship God as we are in conscience persuaded by his word, but also do unto her majesty and our country great good service, and in time also greatly annoy that bloody and persecuting Spaniard about the bay of Mexico." Their petition was not granted and Bacon wrote that "they are now, thanks to God, by the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out; so that there is scarce any news of them." 1580

Then came the more serious conflict. Queen Elizabeth established an ecclesiastical commission with powers "as arbitrary as those of the Spanish inquisitors, to search after heretical opinions, seditious books, absences from the established divine worship, errors, heresies, and schisms." In 1588–89, certain pamphlets appeared under the name of "Martin Marprelate, gent." They were necessarily anonymous; to this day, their authorship is not known with certainty, but Henry M. Dexter has put forward a strong argument to show that they were written by a barrister named Henry Barrowe. They were somewhat coarse but not indecent or blasphemous, and the audacity of their attacks upon the prelates set all England laughing. A royal proclamation forbade that they be read, but the university students hid them in the folds of their gowns; even the

English Inquisitors


Oh read over D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy worke:

Or an epitome of the fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble clergie, by as worshipfull a priest, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest or elder, doctor of Diuinitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answere M. Doctor, they must needes say something that hath bene spoken.

Compiled for the behooke and overthrow of the Parsons, Vickers, and Curats, that have learnt their Catechisines, and are past grace: By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate gentleman, and dedicated to the Confocationhouse.

The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the Bishops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle.

Printed oversea in Europe within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate gentleman.

Title-page of Martin Marprelate's First Tract

1583 nobles read them and the earl of Essex gave one to the
1593 queen. But most of the "seditious books" were of a different character. As a type of the persecution of nonconformists, Leonard Bacon mentions William Smyth, a clergyman, who after eleven months' imprisonment was bold enough to tell the high commissioners that, "if he should, to please them or to avoid trouble, submit to go to church and to join with the public ministry of those assemblies as it now standeth, he being persuaded in conscience that it was utterly unlawful," he would be guilty of dissimulation and hypocrisy. The reply to this was: "Come then to churche & obey the Queene's lawes; & be a dissembler, be a hypocrite, or a Deuill, if thou wilt." And yet the persecuted sect was the only efficient means of leading the common people from the old religion to the new.

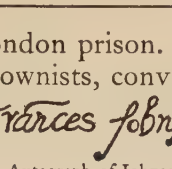
Congregational Martyrs

In 1583, John Copping and Elias Thacker, non-conforming clergymen, died as felons for the crime of what is now known as Congregationalism. Their quondam colleague, Robert Browne, being made not of martyr stuff, conformed and was restored to his living. In 1593, Greenwood and Barrow were hanged and died praying for England and England's queen. John Penry, a graduate of Cambridge and of Oxford and "a preacher of the gospel to the Welsh," was convicted of separatism from the church of England and of "the justification of Barrow and Greenwood as holy martyrs." In June, he went over to the martyr host with his archbishop's name the first on his death-warrant. All this and more was done "by authority of the petticoated pope who called herself 'Supreme Governor of the Church of England.'"

A Refuge Found in Holland

Francis Johnson had been a fellow in one of the colleges at Cambridge, where Puritanism, in its various phases, was largely prevalent. He was zealous against the Separatists and, while minister to an English congregation in the Netherlands, was employed to "intercept" and destroy the first edition of the book written in prison by Barrow and Greenwood. After his return to England, he committed himself to the cause of the Separa-

tists and was himself committed to a London prison. He was "clapped up close" with other Brownists, convicted in legal form, and compelled to abjure the realm. After varying adventures, he arrived at Amsterdam and there gathered anew his London or Southwark church. 1593 1603 1597


Autograph of Johnson

While Penry was in prison, he wrote a letter to his "distressed faithful congregation of Christians in London and all the members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty." He said: "Seeing banishment with loss of goods is likely to betide you all, prepare yourselves for this hard entreaty. . . . I would wish you earnestly to write, yea, to send, if you may, to comfort the brethren in the west and north countries. . . . Yea, I would wish you and them to be together, if you may, whithersoever you shall be banished, and to this purpose, to bethink you beforehand where to be, yea, to send some who may be meet to prepare you some resting-place; and be all of you assured that he who is your God in England will be your God in any land under the whole heaven." When Barrow and Greenwood were hung at Tyburn, parliament was debating the "Act to retain the queen's subjects in obedience." On the day after their execution, the bill became a law. Any Separatist who refused to conform should suffer forfeiture of goods and banishment from the realm. Four weeks later, Penry's death showed the Separatists "that the new law under which they were to be banished had not superseded the old law under which they might be hanged." The Separatist church across the Thames from London (Southwark) was transferred by way of filthy English prisons to Amsterdam. The policy of the queen "was compelling Separatists to become Pilgrims and preparing them to become the founders of a new nationality."

Separatists Become Pilgrims

April, 1593

Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, and the Separatists hoped for some relief from a new sovereign who had been king of Presbyterian Scotland. As James VI. traveled southward to become James I., he received a

The Millenary Petition

April, 1603

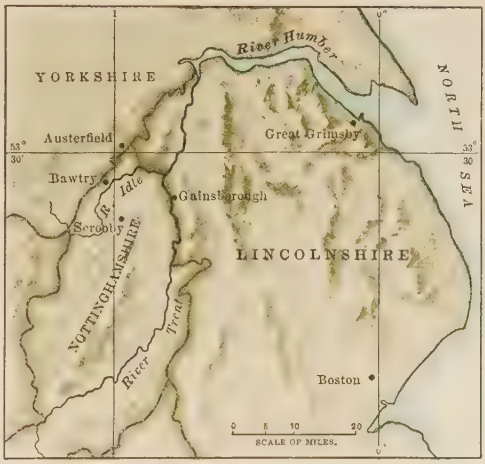
1604 Puritan petition (called the "millenary" petition because it was said to be signed by a thousand hands), and appointed a conference at Hampton Court. At this
January conference, the monarch disappointed both the hopes of the Puritans and the fears of the prelates. The meeting was a farce in which the leading actor played the part of royal brute and mountebank. The king then boasted that he had "kept such revel with the Puritans these two days, as was never heard the like," and threatened: "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse." When, six weeks later, Archbishop Whitgift died and Bishop Bancroft was promoted, the blindest Puritan could see that he must choose between persecution and exile. In 1604, three hundred Puritan clergymen were "silenced." Thus were the soon-to-be pioneers of New England prepared for their work. Religion was their master-motive; suffering their school. Conformists won the case in England; non-conformists appealed the case from the Old World to the New.

CHAPTER VI

THE PILGRIMS

A HUNDRED and forty miles from London, along the old post-road to Edinburgh and near the corners of three English shires, is the hamlet of Scrooby. Ten miles east and on the river Trent is Gainsborough. About 1602, there was at Gainsborough a congregation composed of some of the residents of several not widely separated towns and villages of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire. This congregation was divided about 1605. One branch chose John Smith as pastor and migrated with him to Amsterdam in 1606. The other branch was formed into a distinct church at Scrooby.

Scrooby



Map of Parts of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, England

At Scrooby, the father of Sir Edwin Sandys had a manor-house that had belonged to the archbishops of York from the days of William the Conqueror. Now, it was leased to the archbishop's oldest son, Sir Samuel

William Brewster

1606 Sandys, and under him its tenant was one William Brewster. Brewster, a native of the village, had studied at Cambridge and spent some time at court in the service of William Davidson, Queen Elizabeth's Puritan secretary of state. When Davidson went as ambassador to the Netherlands, Brewster went with him and, when Davidson fell from power, Brewster ceased to be a courtier and became the Scrooby postmaster. William E. Griffis has called attention to the fact that Brewster's presence in Holland at that critical period in Dutch development is of great significance to the philosophic student of Pilgrim history. The Scrooby Separatists ordinarily met at Brewster's house on the Lord's Day, "and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge."

1585

January, 1589

Brewster's Residence at Scrooby

The Scrooby Congregation

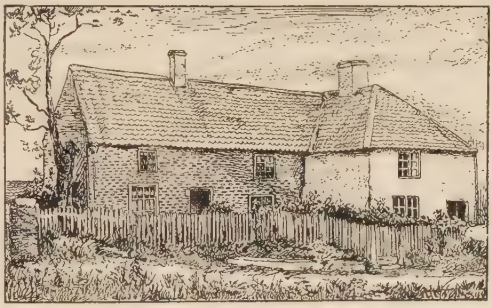
Of the Scrooby congregation, Richard Clifton was pastor, John Robinson was teacher or junior pastor, Brewster was chief layman and afterwards ruling elder. Clifton had been an English rector, deposed for undisguised Puritanism. Robinson had won a fellowship at Cambridge, spent some years in the ministry, and thrown up his living for conscience' sake. He was "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit among the Brownists." The other members of the Scrooby congregation were, for the most part, humble yeomen following "the innocent trade of husbandry." The weekly assemblies of outlawed Separatists in a house with such a history, occupied by an officer of the government, and owned by a bishop, proved to be too much for the not over-tender temper of the times. Brewster abruptly ceased to be postmaster and some of the congregation "were taken and clapped up in prison; others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the

September 30, 1607

most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations. . . . By a joint consent they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men." The country to which they proposed to go was not altogether unknown. With thousands of Englishmen fighting under the flag of the Dutch Republic, and thousands of British traders in the Low Countries, and a hundred thousand Netherlanders, mostly skilled artisans, in the British Isles, the relations between England and Holland were close and varied. In social refinement, industrial advancement, and political ideas, Holland was more highly civilized than England. 1607

From Scrooby to Amsterdam

In the latter part of 1607, a detachment of this Separatist congregation attempted to embark at Boston, a seaport town of Lincolnshire fifty miles from Scrooby. Under the cover of night, they got safely on shipboard. But unlicensed emigration was forbidden and the captain of the ship betrayed the would-be migrants. Their goods were confiscated, men and women being searched for money, even "further than became modesty." In the following spring, the attempt was renewed. A bargain was made with a Dutch captain to receive them at a lonely place on the northeast coast of Lincolnshire above Great Grimsby and to carry them thence to Holland. The women, children, and household goods were sent down the River Idle, a little stream that loitered on its sluggish way past Scrooby to the Trent and thence to the Humber. The men marched forty miles across country. When the little vessel that had come down the Trent had been grounded by the ebbing tide, an armed mob led by officers of the law rushed down the beach. The captain of the



Bradford's Cottage at Austerfield

1607 ship swore a frightened Dutchman's oath and stood out
1608 to sea with William Bradford and such other passengers as he had. The abandoned wives and children, a few of the men, and all of their goods were captured. A few escaped and rejoined their kidnapped brethren in the "common harbor of all heresies," a country in which there was a church without a bishop and a state without a king. The others were taken from jail to jail until the magistrates were glad to be rid of them. "The Horatian three," Clifton, Robinson, and Brewster, held their ground in England until there were no more to be helped across. By August, 1608, the last got safely over to Amsterdam where the pioneers had made such preparation for their reception as was possible after the losses they had suffered.

Map Showing the Pilgrim Routes

Novelty and Necessity

Many of these pilgrims had now first gone beyond the nearest market-town. Familiar fields had been exchanged for a city lifted from the sea. Instead of the rustic ways of little Scrooby and the sweet speech of their native land, they found an uncouth jargon, the magnificence and squalor, the commercial hurry and urban indifference of great Amsterdam at the zenith of her glory. Whether they had sold or saved their birthright, it was certain that the pottage must be earned. Bradford wrote that "it was not long before they saw the grim and grisly face of poverty coming upon them like an armed man, with whom they must buckle and encounter and from whom they could not fly."

Prudence

At Amsterdam were Francis Johnson and his people who had come from Southwark twenty years before, and John Smith and his people newly come from Gainsborough. Because of the threatening flames of contention, Robinson "and some others of best discerning

. . . thought it was best to remove before they were anyway engaged with the same; though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estates, both at present and in likelihood in the future—as, indeed, it proved to be." The record of the "Ancient English Church at Amsterdam" (i.e., Francis Johnson's) is somewhat tarnished, and Edward Arber intimates that the Scrooby congregation went to Leyden not simply to avoid the quarrels but also "the moral pollution that was rampant in it." 1608 1615

In May of 1609, a few weeks after the sailing of Henry Hudson in the "Half Moon" and the signing of the twelve years' truce with Spain, our hundred pilgrims moved on once more. They went by canal twenty miles inland to Leyden, the second largest city in the province. Here most of the Scrooby husbandmen found employment in the woolen factories. Brewster became a teacher, printer, and the publisher of books that it would not have been safe to print in England. Bradford, then in his nonage, became a silk-weaver and a student. He was born at Austerfield, in Yorkshire, and for a quarter of a century was the leading member of the Plymouth colony; "nature and opportunity equally fitted him to be its chronicler from the beginning." He was the first of the Pilgrims to become a citizen of Leyden, and thus to gain a practical knowledge of municipal government in a federal republic, an important equipment for a builder of a commonwealth. As Clifton was old and "loath to remove any more," he was amicably dismissed to the ancient church in Amsterdam. Robinson, the new pastor, ministered to his people and trained them for their destiny of suffering and achievement. In 1615, he was admitted to membership in the famous university, an honor that brought valuable civil and literary privileges to the studious pastor.

From Amsterdam to Leyden

March 30, 1612

Meanwhile, Robinson and others bought a piece of real estate in Leyden (Belfry Lane) with a spacious house for the pastor and Sunday worship. The transaction probably gave the first lesson in the registration of deeds

Investment May 5, 1611

Of plimoth plantation

And first of ye occasion, and Inducements ther unto, the which that I may truly unfould, I must begine at ye very roote, & rise of ye same. The which I shall endeuor to manefest in a plaine stile; with singuler regard unto ye simple trueth in all things, at least as ~~far~~ near as my slender Judgmente can attaine the same.

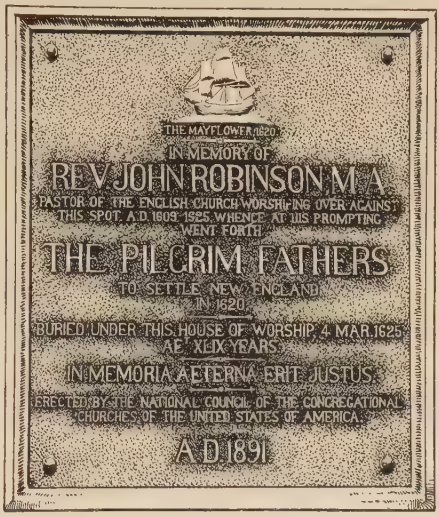
·1· Chapter

It is well knowne unto ye godly, and judicious; how euer since ye first breaking out of ye lighte of ye gospell, in our Honourable nation of England (which was ye first of nations, whom ye Lord adorned therwith, after ye grosse darknes of popery which had couered, & ouerspred ye christian world) what mocrrs, & oppositions euer since satan hath raised, maintained, and continues against the saincts, from time, to time, in one sorte, or other. Soone times by bloody death & cruell torments; other whiles Imprisonments banishments, & other hard usayes As being loath his kingdon should goe downe, the trueth preuaile; and ye churches of god reuerte to that anciente puritie; and recouer, their primatiue order libertie, & bewtie. But when he could not preuaile by these means, against the maine trueths of ye gospell; but that they began to take rotting in many places; being watered with ye bloout of ye martires, and blesed from heauen with a gracious encrease. He then begane to take him to his ancient strategemes, used of old against the first christians. That when by ye bloody, & barbarous persecutions of ye Heathen Emperours, he could not stoppe, & suburte the course of ye gospell; but that it speedily ouerspred, with a wounderfull celeritie, the then best known parts of ye world. He then begane to sow errours, heresies, and wounderfull dissentions amongst ye professours them selues (working upon their pride, & ambition, with other corrupte passions, Incidente to all mortall men; yea to ye saints them selues in some measure) by which wofull effects followed; as not only bitter contentions, & hartburnings, schismes, with other horrible confusions. But satan tooke occasion & aduantage therby to foyst in a number of vile ceremoneys, with many unproffitable cannons, & decrees which haue since been as snares to many poore, & peacable souls, euen to this day. So as in ye anciente times, the persecuti-

A Page from Bradford's *Plimoth Plantation*

and mortgages, for which America is debtor to the Dutch. 1611
Upon this property, more than thirty small houses were 1618
subsequently built by members of the church. Brewster became ruling elder, and "many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation." These recruits included John Carver, Myles Standish, and Edward Winslow. Standish had seen military service with the English forces in the Netherlands. Winslow was a young man of high social standing who visited Leyden, became acquainted with the Pilgrims there, embraced their faith, and cast in his lot with theirs. But the English Puritans so traduced them to the continental Protestants that, contrary to Dutch custom, the Separatist congregation at Leyden was ignored, and the use of public church premises was not granted, if indeed it was ever asked.

Recruits



Pilgrim Commemorative Tablet, Leyden

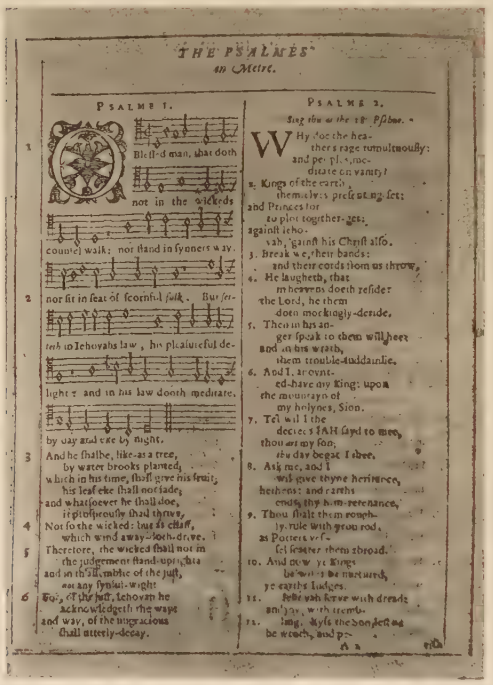
Leyden, where men and women had starved and died for freedom, was a good school for the training of men in the principles of liberty. But Pilgrim life there was a continued struggle with adversity. Many who came went weeping because of great labor and hard fare. Boys and girls became men and women, wooed and wed. Among such was William Bradford, whom the Dutch clerk put on record as "Kadfort van Oosterfeldt in Engelandt," and Edward Winslow. The years brought new dangers. The continental profanation of the Sabbath made men weary even of the land that gave them liberty. They who had suffered in England loved England still, but some of the

Profit and Loss

November, 1613

May, 1618

1616 1618 young began to yield to the seductive influences of their surroundings. Frequent intermarriages with the Dutch might result in scattering the children of the church and in destroying the good seed sown in sacrifice and suffering. When the Leyden Separatists began printing books, the "Brownists' libels" on the sovereign of the chief ally of the Dutch Republic drove James Stuart nearly crazy and led to a royal chase after Brewster and the confiscation of the elder's types. This malignant determination of the English king, the strange Dutch denial of the rights of asylum, and the stoppage of the Pilgrim printing-press were convincing arguments in favor of a new migration. There is food for rejoicing in the fact that the Pilgrim ark was not swamped in the Dutch ocean.


THE PSALMES
in Metre.

PSALME 1.

Blest-d man, that doth not in the wickeds counsel walk: nor stand in synners way, nor sit in seat of scornful folk. But ferteth in Iehovahs law, his pleasureful delight: and in his law doth meditate, by day and eke by night.

And he shalbe, like as a tree, by water brooks planted, which in his time, shall give his fruit, his leaf eke shall not fade, and whatsoever he shall doe, it prosperously shall thrive.

Not so the wicked: but as chaff, which wind away-doth drive.

Therefore, the wicked shall not in the judgement stand-upright: and in th'assembly of the just, no any synful-wight.

For, of the just, Iehovah he acknowledgeth the ways and way, of the ingracious shall utterly-decay.

PSALME 2.

Sing thu as the 18. Psalme.

WHy doe the heathers rage tumultuously: and people imaginate on vanity?

Kings of the earth themselves presentingset: and Princes for a plot together-gets: against Iehovah, 'gainst his Christ also.

Break we, their bands: and their cordsthem us throw.

He laugheth, that in heavens doth reside: the Lord, he them doth mockingly-deride.

Then in his anger speak to them will he: and in his wrath, them trouble-suddainlie.

And I, ordained-have my King: upon the mountayn of my holynes, Sion.

Tell will I the decree: IAH said to me, thou art my son, this day begat I thee.

Ask me, and I will give thyne heritance, heathens: and earths ends, thy hom-retenance.

Thou shalt them rough-ly rule with yron rod, as Potters vessel scatter them abroad.

And now ye Kings be wise: be nurtured, ye earths Judges.

Serve yah, Kings with dreadinesse, and joy, with trembling. Kyss the sonne lest ye be wroth, and pe-

The Grand Idea

A Page from Ainsworth's *Psalmes in Metre*

Nor could the Scrooby wanderers have been unmindful of the fact that the Netherlanders' twelve years' truce with Spain would soon expire. Added to the prospect of a Spanish war was the smoke of threatened civil war. In October, 1618, the troops of the prince of Orange garrisoned Leyden and, in the following May, John of Barneveld was executed at the Hague. Two things were evident: the Pilgrims could not stay in Holland; they could not return to England. Some caught the grand

idea, others were filled with fear and doubt. At last, the decision was made. Virginia was then a word of vague meaning and there were two Virginia companies. If they lived among the English on the James River, "or so near them as to be under their government, they could be in as great danger to be troubled or persecuted for the cause of religion as if they lived in England; and it might be worse. And if they lived too far off, they should neither have succor nor defense from them." On the whole, they determined that the danger from beasts and barbarians was less to be dreaded than the other. 1617 1618

The Growth of Grace

Robinson's views gradually softened and antagonism to the English church so far disappeared that he and his flock "came to regard the Church of England, and the Presbyterian, Lutheran, Dutch Calvinist, and Huguenot bodies as branches of the Church of Christ, to welcome godly members of them to their sacramental table, and to hold baptism by any of these orders as valid and efficient." Then the pastor was assailed by his former friends at Amsterdam as a backslider. The consequent controversy was not strongly marked on either side by courtesy or charity. For a time, Robinson's church at Leyden was called "Semi-separatist" and then "Independent."

Autograph of Robinson

Pilgrim Envoys

In September, 1617, John Carver and Richard Cushman were sent to England to seek lands in northern Virginia and a royal assurance of religious liberty. These envoys bore with them "seven articles" from the church in Leyden. This memorable declaration affirmed concurrence in the creed of the church of England and a desire of spiritual communion with its members. It admitted the supremacy of the king and the authority of the bishops, and promised "obedience in all things, active if the thing commanded be not against God's word, or passive [i.e., submitting to the appointed penalties] if it be." It expressed a desire "to have peace with all men, what in us lieth; and, wherein we err, to be instructed by any."

1618
1620

Negotiation

In London the Pilgrims found an active friend in Sir Edwin Sandys. The Virginia company itself seemed favorably disposed. Carver and Cushman returned in November to consult the "multitude" at Leyden. In December, a second embassy was sent to continue the negotiations. But the way was blocked in the privy council and the delegates reported in favor of accepting an informal promise of the king that he would not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably. Such counsel prevailed for, "if there should afterward be a purpose to wrong us, though we had a seal as broad as the house-floor, there would be means enough found to recall or reverse it. We must rest herein on God's Providence."

English and Dutch Offers June 9–19, 1619

When the Virginia company granted a charter to the Pilgrims, the patent was taken in the name of John Wincob, whom Bradford has described as "a religious gentleman then belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them." The charter was never used and nothing more is heard of Wincob. The New Netherland trading company offered to carry the Pilgrims without charge and to furnish them with cattle. But the states-general declined to offend the English king by giving assurance of protection and the members of the Leyden church ceased "to meddle with the Dutch." Then Thomas Weston, a London merchant, and "about seventy-some gentlemen" as a company of merchant adventurers planned an emigration scheme.

Thomas Weston

In 1620, Weston went to Leyden and submitted a proposition whereby "they should make ready and neither fear want of shipping or of money." The terms of the contract subsequently made provided for a seven years' partnership between the "adventurers" and the "planters." The adventurers were to supply the money; the number of ten-pound shares was to be unlimited. Each settler not less than sixteen years of age was to have one share, and, if self-provided with an outfit of not less than ten pounds' value, two shares. Every child, over ten years of age and under sixteen, was to be rated at

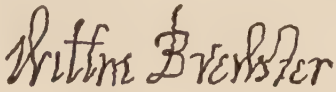
half a share. Every person in the colony was to be supported and to work without wages. At the end of seven years, everything, lands, houses, and even household goods, was to be divided among the stockholders in proportion to their shares. In other words, the Pilgrims were to be bond-servants. At the end, each was to receive for his or her seven years of labor and peril just the same share of the total product as the man who had contributed ten pounds and lived quietly all the while in London. "Hard terms, indeed; but it was this or nothing and, after all, civil and religious liberty were not covered by the mortgage."

1620

Hard Terms

The "Mayflower" of a hundred and eighty tons was chartered in London to receive her load at Southampton. The "Speedwell" of sixty tons was bought and ill-fitted out in Holland; she was to bear the Leyden contingent to Southampton, act as transport to the "Mayflower," and remain in the service of the colony for coasting and fishing. "A solemn meeting and day of humiliation to seek the Lord for His direction" was appointed. The conclusion was that those of the youngest and strongest who should volunteer to go should go in the "Speedwell" and the rest should follow when they had means and inclination. If a majority went, Robinson was to go with them; if a minority, Elder Brewster. The majority remained and so Brewster became the leader of the third migration. The English pilot arrived at the end of May.

The "Mayflower"


Autograph of Brewster

In July, 1620, they who were to go from Leyden made ready for the departure. In the farewell sermon, their pastor charged them "before God and His blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of His holy word. . . . I beseech you, remember it — 'tis an article of your church covenant — that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God." From Leyden, they made an inland voyage of

The Embarkation

1620

Embarkation of the Pilgrims

twenty-four miles to Delfshaven, where with prayers and "a flood of tears" they embarked, taking with them a familiarity with the machinery of free government that they could not have acquired in England. About this time, the Leyden magistrates bore this testimony: "These English have lived among us now this twelve years, and yet we have never had any suit or accusation against any of them."

July 22

Delay

At Southampton the Pilgrims found the "Mayflower" with English Separatists who were to join the colony and with laborers employed by the merchant adventurers. Among these were Stephen Hopkins, William Mullens, and John Alden. Hopkins, in whom the commercial tendency was rather strong, had his family of eight; Mullens had a wife and daughter; Alden was hired as a cooper. Owing to a discussion concerning the terms of the contract and the consequent angry departure of Mr. Thomas Weston, the Pilgrims were detained for weeks and had to sell the butter from their scanty stores to meet the necessary expenses. Robinson sent to them from Leyden a farewell letter "which had good accepta-

tion with all and after-fruit with many." It contained this passage: "Whereas you are to become a body politic using among yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love and will diligently promote the common good but also in yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations; not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good." 1620

Farewell to England August 15, 1620, n. s.

On the fifth of August, as the English then reckoned time, the two ships and their hundred and twenty passengers sailed from Southampton. The "Speedwell" sprung a leak and the ships put in at Dartmouth. Ten days later, sail again was spread and Land's End passed. The captain of the "Speedwell" fraudulently pretended that his ship was in danger of sinking, and so both ships were put about and run back to Plymouth Harbor. Here the "Speedwell" (strange misnomer!) was given up, and "those who were willing returned to London though this was very grievous and discouraging." Among those who withdrew were Cushman and his family. From Plymouth for New Plymouth, on the sixth of September, sailed the "Mayflower." She was deeply laden with the winnowed remnant of the Pilgrim band and a few recruits some of whom were not trained and tempered in righteousness and had been "shuffled in upon them;" a hundred and two in all and all their outfit — besides the unsympathetic master and his coarse and brutal crew. What if she should founder? A few would wait and fear and mourn; others, who had risked a little money, would charge it up to profit and loss; no more.

August 23, n. s.

September 16, n. s.

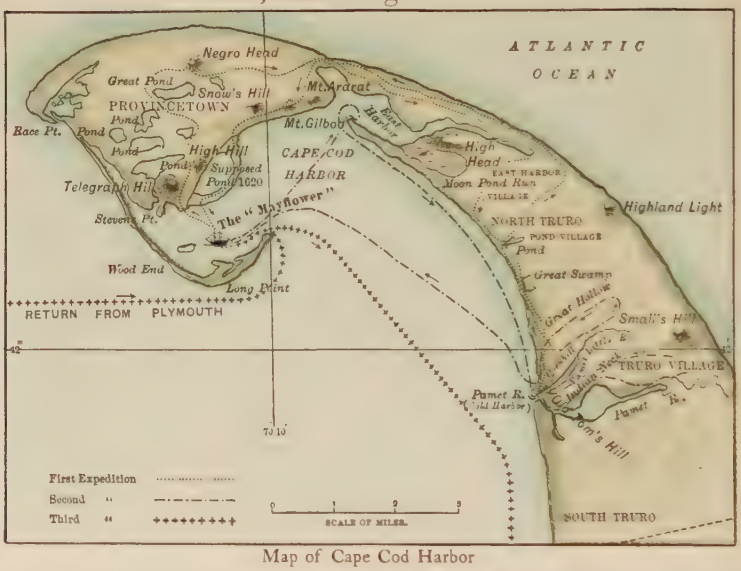
The Cape Cod Shelter

On the nine weeks' tempestuous voyage, one passenger died and Oceanus, the son of Stephen and Elizabeth Hopkins, was born. On the tenth* of November, the

November 20, n. s.

* The authorities differ by a day as to the time when land was sighted and when the ship cast anchor and the passengers went ashore. The dates above given seem to me to be most probably correct.

1620 then wooded shores of Cape Cod were seen. As the Pilgrims' patent was for Virginia and not for New England, they turned toward the south, "to find," says Bradford, "some place about Hudson's river for their habitation." It has been charged, apparently with little reason, that, through collusion with the Dutch, Captain Jones treacherously forced a change of destination. It is now pretty certain that the depravity of the captain and the prejudices of the Dutch had less to do with the determination of the landing-place than did the vagaries of the Gulf Stream, the dangers of the Massachusetts



Map of Cape Cod Harbor

coast, and the political sagacity of the forefathers. At all events, after standing southward half a day, the "Mayflower" turned back, doubled the cape, and found a resting-place in what is now the harbor of Provincetown, "the only windward port within two hundred miles where the ship could have lain at anchor for the next month unvexed by the storms which usher in a New England winter." As the passengers looked back upon what they had endured and the dangers that they had escaped, it seemed that "a sea voyage was an inch of hell."

Saturday, November 11–21

The change of destination freed the hired laborers from the authority conferred by the patent and, therefore, then and there was framed the famous compact that has often been eulogized as the first written constitution in the world: 1620 The Mayflower Compact

In the name of God, amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc., having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Dom. 1620.

Simplicity and Sense

Let there be no mistake. We see here no group of philosophic theorists with a vaunted "social compact." But we do see practical men of rare good sense, familiar with the English idea of municipal self-government, with political conceptions widened by life in republican Holland, using a simple covenant to frame a state as, sixteen years before, they had done to form a church. They neither made any laws nor defined the power of any magistrate. The language of the compact, direct and simple as it is, shows traces of the age in which its framers lived. For example, "dread sovereign lord" was simply a common legal fiction; "king of France" was sixty-two years behind the truth; and the reference to King James as the "defender of the faith" has been dubbed a grim Pilgrim joke. And yet, "in the cabin of the 'Mayflower' humanity recovered its rights and instituted government on the basis of equal laws enacted by all the people for the general good." Such is the just verdict of George Bancroft.

God grant that those who tend the sacred flame
May worthy prove of their forefathers' name.

Governor Carver

The passengers of the "Mayflower" consisted of thirty-four men, the nucleus of the colony, eighteen

1620 wives, twenty boys, eight girls, three maid-servants and nineteen men-servants, of which last five were not more than half-grown. Of the one hundred and two, only thirty-seven are known to have come from Leyden and of these fewer than a dozen had gone from Scrooby to Amsterdam. Of the forty-eight grown men, forty-one signed the compact. Perhaps the other seven were too sick to sign as they all soon died. On the same day, they "chose or rather confirmed" John Carver as governor for the remainder of the year. They were now sixty-seven days from Plymouth, ninety-nine from Southampton, and a hundred and thirty-three from Delfshaven, and most of them were weakened by their long confinement and cramped quarters. While the "Mayflower" was on the ocean, the Plymouth or second Virginia company was reorganized by the king as "The council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America." The company thus reorganized is often spoken of as the Plymouth council or as the council for New England; its dominant genius was Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

November 3–13

The Landing

Cape Cod afforded no attractive site for even a temporary settlement. When the Pilgrims left Leyden, they hoped to be well settled before winter; they could not have landed at a worse season or in a less promising locality. Men went ashore to explore and to gather fuel, and women to do "the homely Monday work of washing clothes as they had great need." Such was the cornerstone of one American institution. The water was so shallow that they who landed had to wade; the weather was freezing cold; consumption sowed its seed while women scrubbed and men stood needless guard. The explorers found a heap of maize but "no more corn nor anything else but graves." They took some of the maize for seed "and therefore were very glad purposing so soon as we could meet with any of the inhabitants of the place to make them large satisfaction." About this time, on the "Mayflower" was born Peregrine White, the first English child of New England birth.

November 13–23

November 16–26

On Wednesday, the sixth of December, the shallop was sent out with Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, Hopkins, and others, to circumnavigate Cape Cod Bay in search of a good harbor and a site for a settlement. The cold was extreme. "The water froze on their clothes and made them many times like coats of iron." On Thursday, they found graves and deserted wigwams but no people or proper place. On Friday, they were harmlessly attacked and made harmless answer, the "First Encounter." That day, a storm unshipped the rudder, tore the sail, snapped the mast, and cast the shallop and its crew on what they named Clark's Island. On Saturday, the castaways repaired the shallop, and "gave God thanks for his mercies in their manifold deliverances." Time was very precious but no historian need tell how they spent the Sabbath. On the solstitial Monday, they sounded the harbor that, six years before, John Smith had named Plymouth. The story thus told is commonplace enough, but history has marked that day an epoch, oratory has drawn thence rich inspiration, and poets of Old England and the New have joined in friendly emulation in celebrating this modest doing of the exiles of 1620. The true date is the eleventh of December, old style, or the twenty-first of December, new style; by an unfortu-

1620

Exploration December 16, n. s.

Map of Plymouth Harbor

The Plymouth Harbor

1620 nate blunder the twenty-second of December came to be celebrated as "Forefathers' Day." It is an interesting coincidence that, according to our corrected calendar, the twenty-first days of the last three months of the year are memorable anniversaries in American history; Columbus discovered America on the twenty-first of October, the Pilgrim Fathers signed the "Mayflower" compact on the twenty-first of November, and their exploring party made the landing at Plymouth on the twenty-first of December.

Plymouth Plantation

On Tuesday the twelfth of December, the explorers returned to the ship, and by the end of the week, the "Mayflower" was safely anchored in Plymouth Harbor. "Freedom's ark had reached its Ararat." A site was selected on Wednesday and trees were soon felled. After a Sabbath of rest and worship, the passengers from the "Mayflower" landed on Monday; perhaps they stepped on Plymouth Rock. They immediately began work on "the first house, for common use, to receive them and their goods." To the Pilgrims, Christmas was a pagan Saturnalia, and "so no man rested all that day."

December 20

December 25, 1620, o. s. = January 4, 1621, n. s.

The Plymouth Rock

But did ever men with a nobler will
A holier Christmas keep
When the sky was cold and gray —
And there were no ancient bells to ring,
No priests to chant, no choirs to sing,
No chapel of baron, or lord or king,
That gray, cold Christmas day?

A New Colonial Policy

Probably for the reason that the Pilgrims were familiar with the name that Captain John Smith had given the locality, the colony took the name of New Plymouth. In a few weeks, the common house was finished, the fortification of a hill begun, and what now is Leyden Street laid out. House-lots were assigned and individual homes rose slowly in the intervals between the storms. The colonial policy that constitutes the foundation of the modern colonial supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race had been found, not by the English government, but by

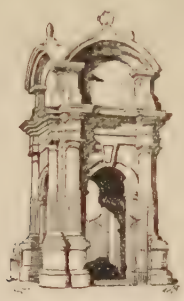
Smith's Map of New England

Englishmen. The settlement at Jamestown and that at New Amsterdam had been begun with another purpose, but that at Plymouth in New England was, from the beginning, with the intention of establishing new and permanent homes for the founders and their posterity. 1620 1621

Indications that Indians were lurking about the village led to a military organization, Standish being chosen captain and clothed with ample authority. A few days later, five cannons were landed and placed on the platform on Fort (now Burial) Hill. Upon pilgrims weakened by their long voyage, exposure wrought its deadly work; before the south winds brought relief and "the birds sang in the woods most pleasantly," the living were hardly able to tend the dying and to bury the dead.

Distress and Death February 17, 1620, o. s. = February 27, 1621, n. s.

1620
1621


The Plymouth Rock and Canopy

Mrs. Bradford was drowned and five others passed away while the "Mayflower" was lying at Cape Cod; in January, eight more died; in February, seventeen; in March, thirteen; before reinforcements came, the dead numbered fifty. Bradford has recorded the story: "In the time of most distress, there were but six or seven sound persons, who (to their great commendation be it spoken) spared no pains night or day; but, with abundance of toil and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, dressed them meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed and unclothed them; in a word, did all the homely and necessary offices for them which dainty and queasy stomachs cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any grudging in the least, showing herein their true love to their friends and brethren."

Samoset

There was no intercourse with the natives until the middle of March when the colonists were surprised by the appearance of an Indian, simply clad, who marched straight to the rendezvous and gave the friendly greeting "Welcome!" It was Samoset who had learned a few English words from the English fishermen on the coast of Maine. Samoset informed the Pilgrims that the Indian name of Plymouth was Patuxet, and that their nearest neighbors were the Wampanoags whose chief sachem, Massasoit, held his court on Narragansett Bay, thirty miles southwest, and the Cape Cod Nausets with whom Standish had exchanged harmless greetings in December. He also told them that a pestilence had swept away the red men of that region and left none to contest their claim to the soil or to molest them in its possession. The Reverend Cotton Mather observed, a few generations later, that "the woods were almost cleared of those pernicious creatures, to make room for a better growth."

March 16, 1620, o. s. = March 26, 1621, n. s.

Indian Relations

The Pilgrims gave their guest "strong water, biscuit and butter and cheese and pudding" and so had hard

work to get rid of him. In a day or two, he returned 1620
with five companions, all elaborately dressed as if they 1621
knew it was Sunday. The record shows that "they did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance to us of friendship and amity. They sang and

Map Showing the Indian Tribes of the North Atlantic States

danced after their manner, like antics." This, in Plymouth on the Sabbath, was unprecedented. The law of hospitality was imperative, but the line had to be drawn when the Indians showed beaver-skins and wished to barter. The five departed in good nature and Samoset adhesively lingered until, on the following Wednesday, he was picturesquely clad and thus dismissed. That day, eight

March 18, 1620, o. s. = March 28, 1621, n. s.

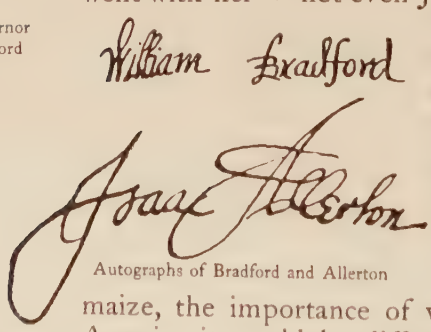
1620 1621 months from the embarkation in Holland, the last of the passengers in the "Mayflower" were brought to land. On Thursday, Samoset brought in Squanto, who had been kidnapped and taken to England in 1614 and brought back in 1619 to find himself the only survivor of his tribe. The presence of these friendly English-speaking natives was equally remarkable and fortunate. Massasoit quickly followed. Governor Carver, wisely assuming a little state, met him "with drum and trumpet," "called for strong water and drank to" his royal visitor, a courtesy to which Massasoit gracefully responded. An alliance, offensive and defensive, was contracted in a day and kept for more than half a century. Samoset soon returned to his tribe in Maine but Squanto remained at Plymouth and became a valuable addition to the colony.

A Strong Government

March 23, 1620, o. s. = April 2, 1621, n. s.

According to the calendar then in use among Englishmen, the year began on the twenty-fifth of March. As their New Year's Day drew near, the Pilgrims again chose Carver as governor. A few days later, John Billington heaped contempt upon the commands of Captain Standish and was sentenced "to have his neck and heels tied together." The culprit "humbled himself and begged pardon." The government had made its authority respected and, as this was the first offense at Plymouth, the penalty was remitted. The "Mayflower" sailed for England in April but, in spite of all the suffering and solitude and new-made graves, not one of the Pilgrims went with her — not even John Billington. Carver soon died, and Bradford was chosen in his place with Isaac Allerton as his assistant. Without the aid of cattle, the colonists prepared the ground and sowed English wheat and pease, "but it came not to good." Happily they learned from Squanto how to plant and cultivate the maize, the importance of which in the early history of America it would be difficult to overestimate. Between

Governor Bradford



Autographs of Bradford and Allerton

seed-time and harvest, the country was explored as far as Boston Harbor. Winslow and Hopkins went on an embassy to Massasoit and recognized his friendly disposition and the squalor of Indian life. When some of the subjects of Massasoit formed a conspiracy against their sachem, Standish and a dozen men promptly marched against the recalcitrants. There was no fighting but, as a result of the demonstration, nine sachems came into Plymouth and acknowledged themselves to be the loyal subjects of King James. 1621

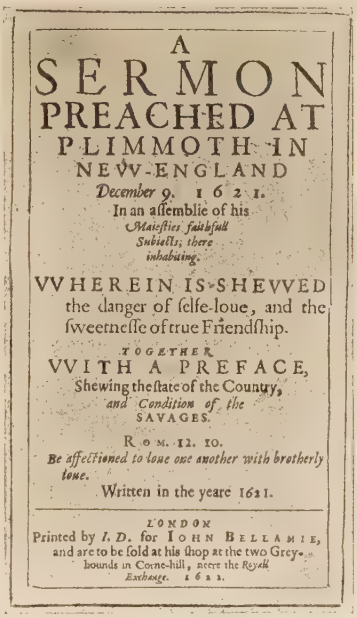
The summer was prosperous, the harvest was abundant. Then was had the first of those New England autumnal feasts, "now kept with gladness in the homes, and with worship in the churches, all the way from Plymouth to the Golden Gate." With statesmanlike hospitality, Massasoit and several score of his people were feasted for three days. A few days later, the "Fortune" brought Robert Cushman and thirty-five recruits. Cushman brought a new patent, the first granted by the council for New England. This oldest existing Plymouth document, issued in the name of John Pierce, one of the London adventurers and his associates, superseded the unused Wincob patent. It conveyed a tract of land to be selected by the planters, allowed a hundred acres to be taken up for every emigrant, provided fifteen hundred acres for public buildings, and conferred self-governing powers. It fixed no territorial limits and, unfortunately, never was confirmed by the crown. In the following

Thanksgiving Day

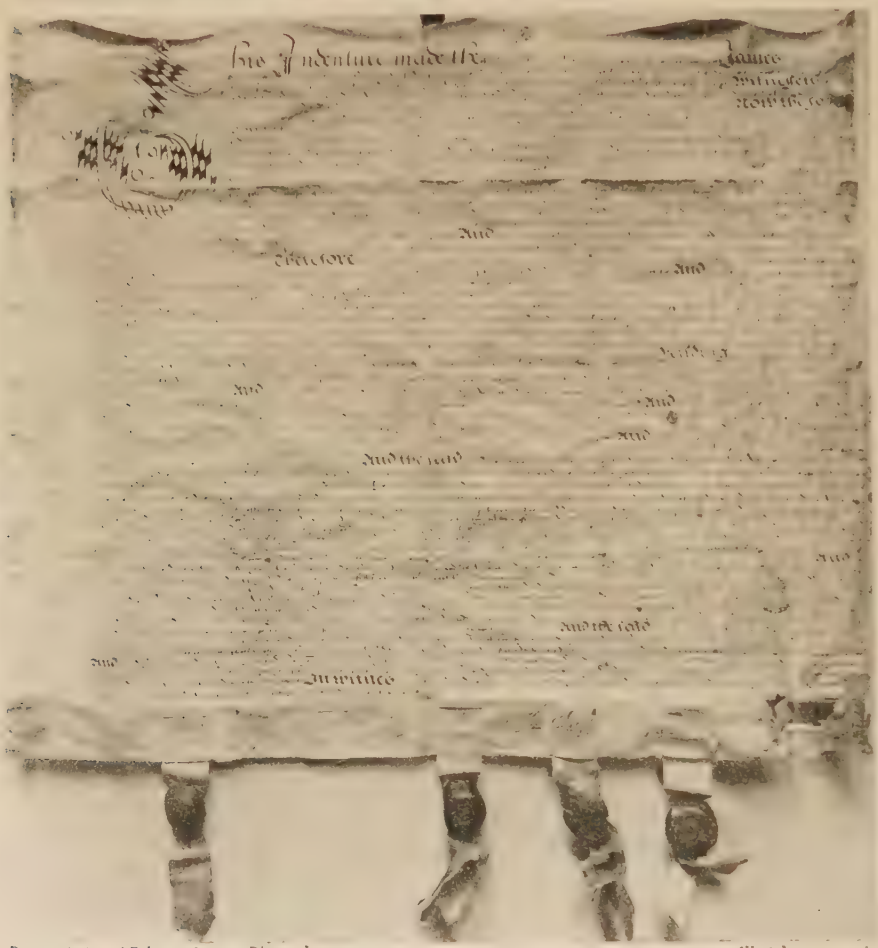
November 10–20

The Pierce Patent

June 1–11


A
SERMON
PREACHED AT
PLIMMOTH IN
NEVV-ENGLAND
December 9. 1621.
In an assemblie of his
Maiesties faithfull
Subiects; there
inhabiting.
VVHEREIN IS SHEVVED
the danger of selfe-loue, and the
sweetnesse of true Friendship.
TOGETHER
VVITH A PREFACE,
Shewing the state of the Country,
and Condition of the
SAVAGES.
ROM. 12. 10.
Be affectioned to loue one another with brotherly
loue.
Written in the yeare 1621.
LONDON
Printed by I. D. for IOHN BELLAMIE,
and are to be sold at his shop at the two Grey-
hounds in Corne-hill, neere the Royall
Exchange. 1622.

Title-page of Cushman's Sermon at Plymouth



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The Pierce Patent of 1621

April 20–30, 1622

year, Pierce managed in some way to obtain another patent by which that of 1621 was temporarily superseded. This patent was more in the interests of Pierce than of his associates, but the fraud was soon found out and the wrong was rectified. Governor Bradford soon sent back the "Fortune" with sassafras, "2 hogsheads of beaver-skins and good clapboards [i.e., staves for casks] as full as she could hold; the freight esti-

December 13–23, 1621

mated at £500." Her French captors confiscated most of the cargo. 1621 1622

Few of the passengers brought by the "Fortune" came from Leyden, and some of their characteristics are revealed in a "passage rather of mirth than of waight" recorded by Bradford. While the governor and others went to work as usual on "the day called Christmas day," some of those newly arrived set up the plea that it was against their consciences to work on that day. The governor excused them, but, when he found them playing games in the street, he sent them to their homes on the ground that if it was against their consciences to work on Christmas, it was against his conscience that they should play while others worked. While his home policy was firm, his foreign policy was sturdy. Canonicus, the sachem of the powerful Narraganset tribe, sent a bundle of arrows tied together with the skin of a rattlesnake as his symbolic message of hostility; Bradford sent back the skin with a stuffing of ball and powder. Squanto explained the significance of the message received, but Canonicus needed no interpretation of the answer.

Firm and Steady

About this time, the new fort was completed. In his *History of Plymouth*, Bradford says: "This somer [1622] they builte a fort with good timber, both strong & comly, which was of good defence, made with a flate roof & batllments, on which their ordinance were mounted, and wher they kepte constante watch, espetially in time of danger. It served them allso for a meeting house, and was fitted accordingly for that use."

The Church Militant

In 1622, Thomas Weston, who had severed his connection with the London adventurers, sent over, on his own account, sixty men "so base in condition, for the most part, as in all appearance not fit for an honest man's company." For most of the summer, they were a burden upon the hospitality of the Pilgrims, who again were on short allowance of rations. Winslow wrote: "Had we not been in a place where shell-fish are that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished." When Weston's recruits set up a separate colony at Wes-

The Weymouth Profligates

1622 1623 sagusset (Weymouth), they left their sick and lame for care and cure. By their lazy, thievish, and lascivious propensities, the Wessagusset profligates aroused the resentment of the natives.

An Indian Plot

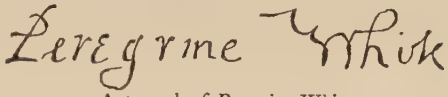
In the following spring, a plot was formed for their destruction, and the simultaneous murder of the Pilgrims. Before the allies could carry out their plan of extermination, the conspiracy was revealed by Massasoit, a grateful and immediate return for the skilful nursing by which Winslow had saved him from death. At the next "Court" or town-meeting for the annual election of officers, Bradford explained the situation to the freemen. Two days later, Standish and eight men went to the relief of their worthless neighbors whom they found unprotected and unsuspecting. There was a desperate hand-to-hand fight in which two chiefs, notable, insulting villains and chief instigators of the plot, were killed, and a third Indian was captured for the gallows. Other Indians and several Englishmen were killed. The conspiracy was broken and Plymouth saved. Some of Weston's colonists returned to Plymouth; the others went in their pinnace to Monhegan, an island off the coast of Maine. Thus ended the Weymouth venture, and thus was Indian blood first shed by the Pilgrims. It was a case of self-defense made necessary by the ill deeds of others—a drastic but salutary medicine. The "capital exploit" terrified the hostile Indians and filled Pastor Robinson, at Leyden, with grief.

March 23, 1622, o. s. = April 2, 1623, n. s.

Economics

It was impossible to carry out the letter of the contract with the adventurers and so a modification of the plan was made. Before planting time, lots were assigned to the heads of families at the rate of an acre for each member of the family. The effect was like that at Jamestown. Even "the women now went willingly into the field and took their little ones with them to set corn, whom to have compelled would have been thought tyranny and oppression." But a severe drought prevailed in June and July and, for a time, the only supplies abundant at Plymouth were fine air, pure water, and

hard work. At Plymouth, as in Virginia, private ownership of land eliminated the original economic unity of the venture. Political unity remained, but the plantation type of English colonies in America dropped out of existence. 1623


Autograph of Peregrine White

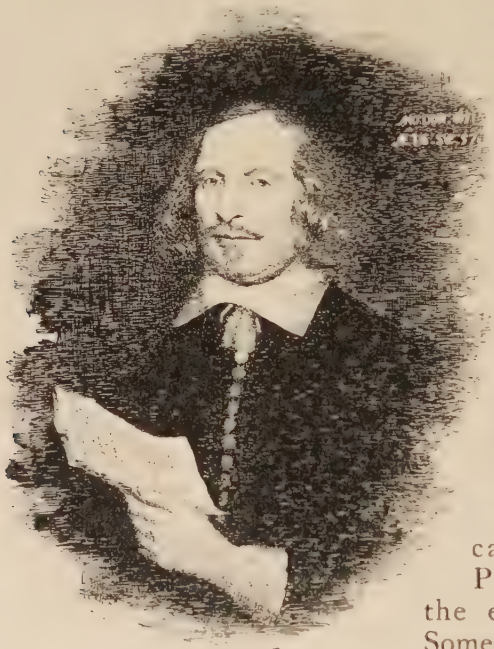
In that year, the "Anne" and the "Little James" arrived with recruits, including some from Leyden and some "on their particular," or as adventurers on their own account. These newcomers with those who had previously arrived at Plymouth, are known as "Pilgrims" or "Forefathers." Among those who now came on their own account, and who came to be called "particulars" in distinction from the colonists or "generals," was Master John Oldham, a man of more ability and bluster than of education. When the "Anne" sailed for England in September, Edward Winslow went along as agent for the colony. The "Little James," a fine new vessel of about forty-four tons, remained several months in the service of the colonists. That fall, the harvests were abundant; famine never returned to the Old Colony. The Forefathers

In the same year, Captain Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, arrived with a commission as governor-general of the country, and William Morell, a state-church chaplain. He also had a patent for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts Bay and thirty miles inland; the Plymouth council was prodigal of charters. The governor-general got his fill of life in the New World in a single year, while his chaplain, gentle, genial soul, wrote a poem in elegant Latin and inferior English, and, in 1625, went back to England. It was more than sixty years before another governor-general made his appearance. On the day after the making of the treaty with Massasoit, the Pilgrims had enacted certain "laws and orders thought behooveful for their present estate and condition," but the first law entered in the colony's record-book was enacted in December, 1623, and provided that "all criminal facts and also all matters of trespass and debts A Governor-General September 1620–21

1623 1624 between man and man should be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men to be impanelled by authority, in form of a jury, upon their oath." The town-meeting had become too large for ordinary trials; trial by jury was therefore established.

The Colonial Council March 25

When the next New Year's Day drew near, Bradford was again elected governor. There was created a governor's council of five in which board the governor had a double vote. About this time, the "Charity" arrived from England. Bradford says that "the ship came on fishing — a thing fatal to this plantation." She brought the colonists a patent for lands at Cape Ann, whither a party soon went and helped the crew build a fishing-stage. The Pilgrims had dogs, swine, and poultry, but no cattle until the "Charity" brought a bull and three heifers. By the same vessel came John Lyford, a Puritan preacher of the established church. Some of the London adventurers who had failed to get great profits from their investment became greatly concerned about the ecclesiastical unsoundness of the Pilgrims. John Lyford was their emissary, "a veritable wolf in sheep's clothing among the Plymouth flock, a dissembler, mischief-maker, and spy." He found a co-conspirator in Master John Oldham. Intercepted letters gave evidence of their culpability. When they



Edward Winslow

Lyford and Oldham

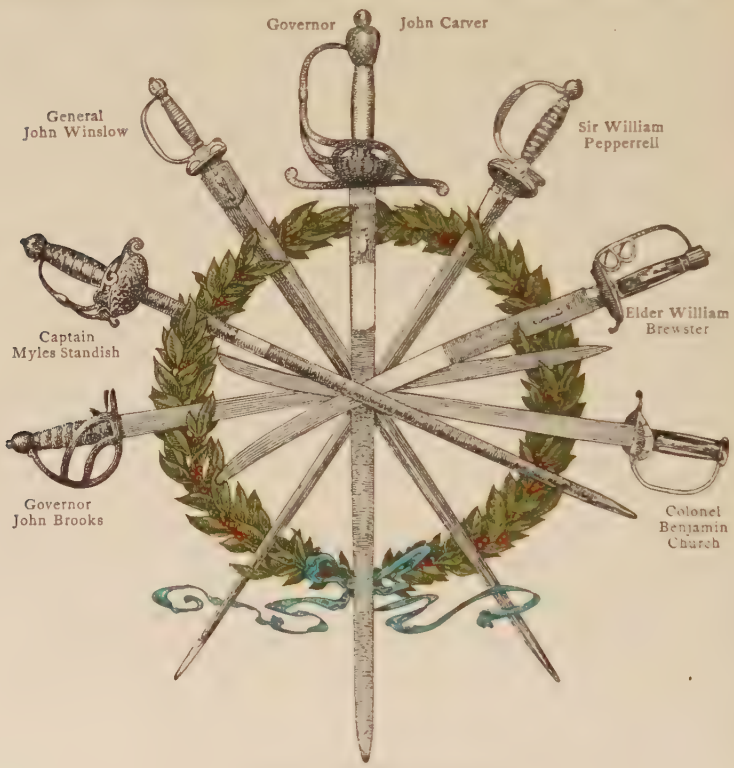
attempted to introduce the forms and rites of the established English church, both were arraigned before the public meeting and sentenced to banishment. Lyford humbly confessed that he had been guilty of slander and of plotting against the established rule of the colony. He remained under suspended sentence and, in the spring, joined Oldham, Roger Conant, one of the "particulars," and a few straggling settlers at Nantasket (now Hull). Oldham returned to Plymouth without permission and made himself so offensive that patience ceased to be a virtue. "They committed him," says Bradford, "till he was tamer, and then appointed a gard of musketeers, which he was to pass throw, and every one was ordered to give him a thump on the brich with the but end of his musket, and then was conveied to the water side, wher a boat was ready to cary him away. Then they bid him goe and mende his maners." In 1625, Lyford went as pastor and Conant as superintendent to the short-lived Puritan plantation at Cape Ann, but Oldham preferred trading on his own account. At the end of that year, Conant and a few others founded Naumkeag (now Salem), Lyford going with them as their minister.

1624
1627
March, 1625

Then the company of London adventurers came to an end, many of the malcontents withdrawing in succession. Just after the accession of Charles I., Standish was sent to England as agent. After his return in April, 1626, Allerton was sent. Early in 1627, Allerton returned with a proposition for a surrender of the contract and a termination of the partnership in consideration of eighteen hundred pounds to be paid in nine equal annual instalments. The outstanding obligations of the colony and the first six of the nine annual payments were assumed by eight of the Plymouth planters (including Bradford, Brewster, Standish, and Winslow) and four of their London friends, the "undertakers" receiving in return a six years' monopoly of the foreign trade. Thus were the Pilgrims released from their bondage. Lands were allotted and the undivided possessions were distributed. The four London partners proved true, payments were made

Out of Bondage

1625 as claims matured, and, in 1629, the Pilgrims gave exultant
1627 welcome to thirty-five of the Leyden remnant. Others followed early the next year and "the migration of the exiles, by companies, from Leyden to Plymouth was ended." The Leyden recruits strengthened the better party at Plymouth and made the colony conform more closely to its original design. Robinson had died in 1625.



Swords of Some Pilgrim Fathers
From group in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society

Trouble at Cape Ann

After the dissolution of the company of London adventurers, a ship sent out by some of Lyford's principals occupied the fishing-station at Cape Ann. Standish and a Plymouth company were sent to drive out the intruders. A compromise was effected although, as "a little chimney is soon fired, so was the Plymouth Captain, a man of very

little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper." In 1625, a colony settled at Mount Wollaston, in the present town of Quincy, four or five miles south of Boston. It proved to be "a nursery of vagabonds and an asylum to discontented fishermen and sailors." Thomas Morton, a picturesque adventurer, became king of the continued carnival. The immoralities of the hilarious crew shocked the Pilgrim Fathers, and the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians made imperative the suppression of "Merry Mount." Standish, whom Morton nicknamed Captain Shrimp, was sent to abate the nuisance. Morton made a play of valorous resistance, surrendered without a single shot, was carried to Plymouth, and sent thence to England in the custody of the lately drubbed John Oldham who had reformed and was behaving himself with decorum and propriety.

1625

1628 Merry Mount

Map Showing the English Settlements about Massachusetts Bay

June, 1628

In 1627, a settlement was made at Buzzard's Bay. Friendly relations were established with their Dutch neighbors from whom they received letters addressed "to the noble, worshipful, wise, and prudent Lords, the

Foreign Relations

1627 Governor and Councilors resident in New Plymouth."
1630 Bradford sent back word that these were "over high titles," and "more than belongs to us, or is meete for us to receive," and, in Dutch, assured "the honorable and worshipful the director and council of New Netherland," that he wished them worldly prosperity and "eternal rest and glory," and warned them not to settle in the territory of the council for New England or to trade with the natives around Buzzard's Bay or in the Narragansett region. It will be remembered that the Dutch claim included every mile of New England coast. Subsequently, De Rasieres, the New Netherland secretary, visited Plymouth, taught the English there the use of wampum currency, opened up a profitable traffic between the two settlements, and left for us an interesting account of his visit.

The Warwick Patent

In 1628, the council for New England granted lands in Maine to William Bradford, and the Pilgrims began a settlement on the Kennebec River, near the site of Augusta. In the same year, John Endecott landed at Naumkeag (Salem) as the first resident governor of "London's Plantation in Massachusetts Bay in New England." The patent of 1621 established no boundaries for New Plymouth. A more definite grant was signed by the earl of Warwick, president of the council for New England. The document is still preserved at Plymouth. The grant was made in fee-simple to William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns, and included every right possessed by the council. This "Warwick patent" was practically valid for outside use, but for the Pilgrims the "Mayflower" compact remained the fundamental law. A royal charter was prepared, but it did not receive the signature of the king.

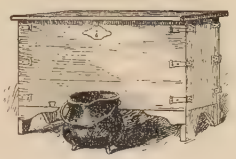
January 13, 1629, o. s. = January 23, 1630, n. s.

Blood for Blood

John Billington had some difficulty with one Newcomen, and "shote him with a gune, whereof he dyed." After conviction at Plymouth and a reference of the matter to Winthrop who had lately arrived at Massachusetts Bay, it was decided that Billington "ought to die and the land be purged from blood." The sentence was

executed in September, 1630. During all these years, William Brewster was ruling elder and ministered unto the church. An English historian says that "as long as Governor Bradford lived, no minister even dared to aspire to lead them as John Robinson had done at Amsterdam and Leyden." For business mismanagement and other alleged misconduct, Allerton, Brewster's son-in-law and London agent for the Plymouth partners, was dismissed in disgrace in 1631. He took up his residence at Marblehead, whence he was ordered to depart in 1635. He was chosen a member of the council at New Amsterdam in 1643, and died at New Haven in 1659. Many people came into the neighboring colony of Massachusetts Bay, "by which means corn and cattle grew to a great price, by which many were much enriched, and commodities grew plentiful."

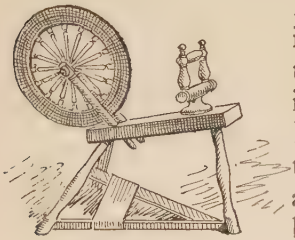
1630



Elder Brewster's Chest and Myles Standish's Dinner-pot

Matrimony and Magistrates

But there were other ventures than those with London merchants; other contracts than those between man and man or colony and state. It is a matter of not uncertain history that Susannah White was inconsolably widowed in February; that Edward Winslow suffered the irreparable loss of his wife in March; that in April they wiped their tears each on the other's cheek and were married in May. Although by English law there could be no marriage without sacerdotal intervention, the Plymouth governor performed the marriage ceremony. Marriage by magistrate was the common rule in New England for several generations. Longfellow has saved for us, in anachronistic melody, the story of John Alden's matrimonial mission from Captain Standish to Priscilla Mullens, and its unexpected issue. In 1623, Governor Bradford married Mrs. Alice Southworth. Standish soon made a more successful venture,



Small Spinning-wheel

Autograph of John Alden

1630 and John Howland, Peter Brown, and others were made happy by the magisterial formula.

The Town-Meeting

But this venture of Priscilla Mullens was in contravention of the general rule by which woman was denied a voice in matters of church and state. Other than this, the form of civil government was a pure democracy after the simplest pattern. The governor was chosen by the general suffrage. After 1624, his authority was restricted by a council of five or more members. For several years, the male inhabitants were frequently convoked in "general court" for legislative, judicial, and executive action.

Pilgrims Going to Church

No law or imposition was of effect without the consent of the freemen—those who had signed the "Mayflower" compact and others who had been admitted to the franchise by a majority vote. This Plymouth government never had the royal sanction; it drew its sole authority and strength from the famous compact and the willing subordination of the governed. It was preëminently a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." It does not clearly appear just when the colonial court was differentiated from the town-meeting. In fact, Plymouth never was incorporated as a town, and its

first official recognition as such is the order of the general court "that the chiefe government be tyed to the towne of Plymouth, and that the governor for the time being be tyed there to keepe his residence and dwelling." The population grew slowly and, in May, 1630, Plymouth colony numbered fewer than three hundred souls. But the victory was won. 1633 October 28

The Pilgrim Program

The Pilgrims set out from Leyden with no loud professions of universal philanthropy or heraldings of a refuge for the oppressed of all lands. Their great desire was religious liberty for themselves, and they sought no increase but from the friends of their communion. Yet "a wide experience had emancipated them from bigotry, and they were never betrayed into the excesses of religious persecution." The distinction between the Separatists at Plymouth and the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay has not always been recognized as historical fidelity demands.

CHAPTER VII

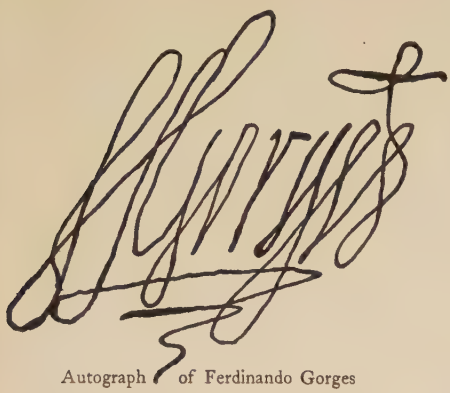
THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND

Prerogative and Parliament 1604

THE first act of the house of commons after the accession of James I. was to frame a bill for the redress of ecclesiastical grievances. This bill was rejected by the house of lords at the instigation of the king. Then followed on one side a bold address to the crown, and on the other the formal assertion of the divine right of kings. The monarch insisted upon his prerogative and, in 1611, dissolved parliament. During his three years' experiment of governing without a legislature, his people were coming to the point of governing without a king. In 1614, another parliament assembled; after a session of only two months it was dissolved. Then the royal pedant ruled by royal prerogative until the third parliament met in 1621. When the king forbade its members to discuss state affairs and they replied that the rights of parliament are the birthright of the English people, James tore the protest from the record and dissolved the parliament. In those stirring years, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was friendly to king and king's prerogative, and his brain was teeming with the scheme of a great monopoly. He was as loyal as Sir Edwin Sandys was troublesome, and the king was much inclined to take good care of his friends.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges

The fate of the Popham colony, the reported severity of the New England winters, and the failures that constituted the chief record of the Plymouth or North Virginia company could not shake the resolution of this



Autograph of Ferdinando Gorges

distinguished promoter. His associates might become discouraged, many of them did withdraw, but Gorges remained firm. In 1614, he sent John Smith into New England waters. Later, and at his own expense, he sent out Richard Vines who spent the winter of 1616–17 in the region of Saco Bay. That winter was made memorable by the pestilence that cleared the way for the Plymouth Pilgrims. In 1619, he sent out Thomas Dermer. Captain Dermer's report of a prosperous fur trade at Manhattan gave an added incentive for prompt action, and a new charter practically reincorporated the northern company, as recorded in the preceding chapter.

1614
1620

November 3–13, 1620

Map Showing the Division of Territory According to the Patent of 1620

Charter of 1620

This new charter set forth that the king had been "humbly petitioned unto by our trusty and well-beloved Servant, Sir fferdinando Gorges, Knight, Captain of our ffort and Island by Plymouth, and by certain the Principal Knights and Gentlemen Adventurers of the said Second Colonye [of Virginia], and by divers other

1620 Persons of Quality, who now intend to be their Associates," and that "for their better Encouragement and Satisfaction herein, and that they may avoide all Confusion, Questions, or Differences between themselves and the said first Collonye" the king had made them "one several distinct and entire body," and had granted unto them "all that Circuit, Continent, Precincts, and Limitts in America, lying and being in Breadth from Fourty Degrees of Northerly Latitude, from the Equinoctiall Line, to Fourty-eight Degrees of the said Northerly Latitude, and in Length by all the Breadth aforesaid throughout the Maine Land, from Sea to Sea, with all the Seas, Rivers, Islands, Creekes, Inletts, Ports, and Havens; . . . And to the End that the said Territoryes may forever hereafter be more particularly and certainly known and distinguished, our Will and Pleasure is, that the same shall from henceforth be nominated, termed, and called by the Name of New England in America," it was ordained that there should be "in our Towne of Plymouth, in the County of Devon, one Body politicque and corporate, which shall have perpetuall Succession, which shall consist of the Number of fourtie Persons, and no more, which shall be, and shall be called and knowne by the Name the Councill established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New-England in America." The royal gift carried with it a valuable monopoly of the fisheries.

Promise

The charter was violently opposed, in and out of parliament. Sir Edward Coke, "the great lawyer who vacillated between servility and sedition," vigorously declared that there never was a more audacious attempt at "a monopoly of the wind and sun" than were these granted privileges of fishing and trade. But he and Sir Edwin Sandys were no match for Sir Ferdinando, his co-patentees, and the king. Thirteen of these patentees were peers of high rank; some of them were members of the privy council and their consciences were far from nice. The charter became the foundation of most of the grants that were made of the territory of New England, includ-

1620
1624

ing the Pierce patent given to the Plymouth Pilgrims. The house of commons passed a bill for free fishing but, before the bill became a law, the angry monarch dissolved parliament as above recorded. In 1624, another parliament assembled. The people were worn out with monopolies, and the commons were determined in the matter of free fishing. This determined opposition to the franchise paralyzed what it could not kill; the records of the council show that it "held them almost two years so as all men were afraid to join with them." As remarked by Charles Francis Adams, "Gorges' project had received a death blow. The Puritan parliament had looked on Sir Ferdinando, and Essex was avenged." The corporation was meanwhile prodigal of charters, the work of colonization being largely left to private enterprise.

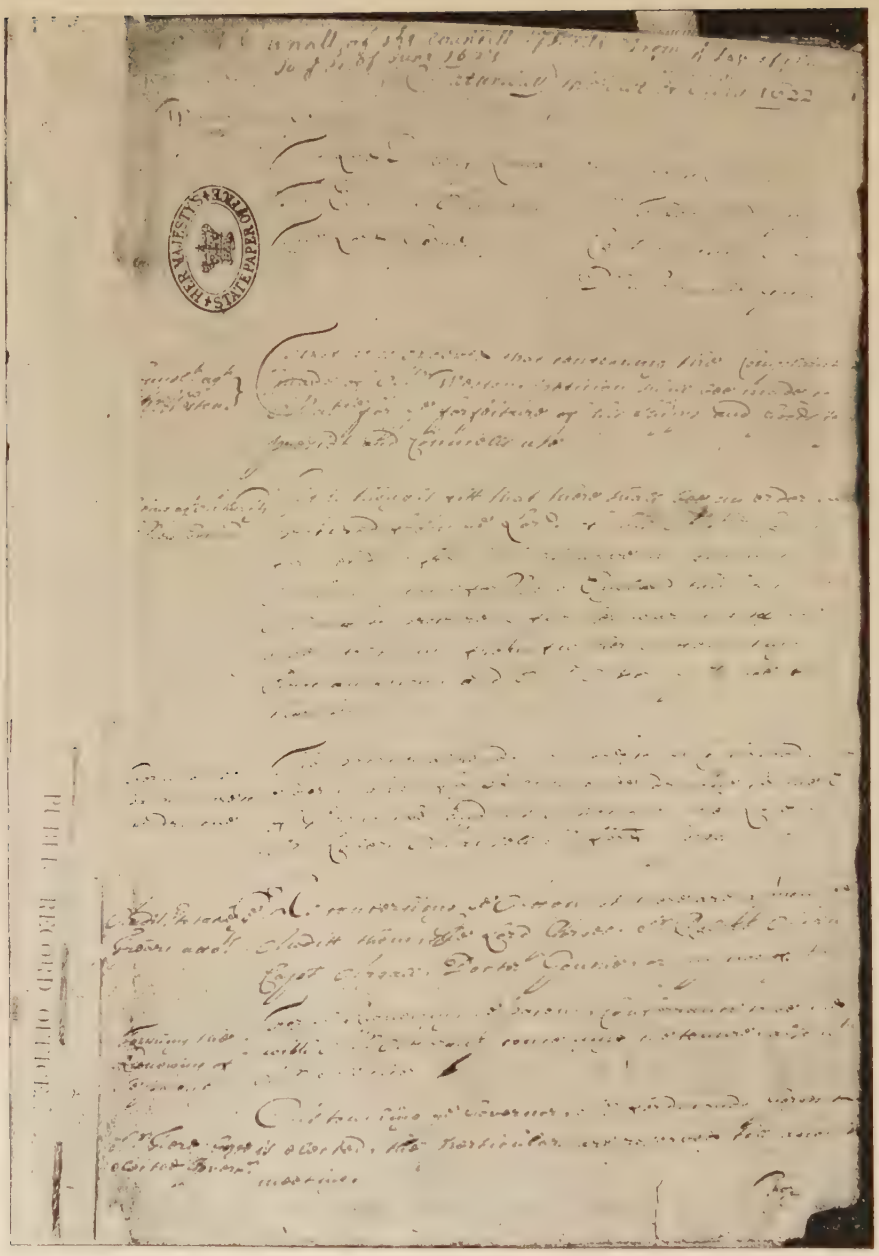
Seal of the Council for New England

December 21, 1621

Paralysis

As recorded in the first chapter of this volume, the council granted Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander, a Scottish favorite of the king and afterwards earl of Stirling. This effort to give away lands that were claimed by France resulted in sowing the seeds of future wars and the making of a Latin name. Associated with Sir Ferdinando Gorges as partner in some of these New England land deals was one Captain John Mason, protégé of Buckingham and long-time governor of Portsmouth in Hampshire, England. Both of these royal favorites were staunch adherents of the state church of England and therefore not likely to meet with much sympathy from the Pilgrims who already had made a settlement at Plymouth or from the Puritans who soon were to set up a theocracy of their own at the near-by Massachusetts

Missing Records September, 1621



Records of the Council for New England, May 31, 1622

Bay. Mason received from the New England council a grant of lands between the Salem River and the Merrimac, named it Mariana, and did little if anything more in the matter. A few months later, Gorges and Mason received a grant of the territory lying along the coast from the Merrimac to the Sagadahoc (Kennebec) and extending "to the furthest heads of the said Rivers and soe forwards up into the land westward untill threscore miles be finished from the first entrance of the aforesaid rivers and half way over that is to say to the midst of the said two rivers which bounds and limitts the lands aforesaid togeather with all Islands & Isletts within five leagues distance of the said premisses and abutting upon the same or any part or parcell thereoff." This domain was to be called the province of Maine. The existing records of the council begin at the end of May, 1622. The minutes of transactions prior to that date, such as the granting of the Pierce patent to the Pilgrims and the grant for Mariana, are lost. Largely in consequence of this loss and of a subsequent hiatus in the record, some confusion has entered to the annoyance of historians. Although the council had been "established at Plymouth," all of its recorded meetings were held at London. The patentees undertook various schemes for the advancement of their interests, but many of the shareholders failed to pay their assessments and the brilliant anticipations were not realized.

1621
1623

August 10–20, 1622

June 1, 1621

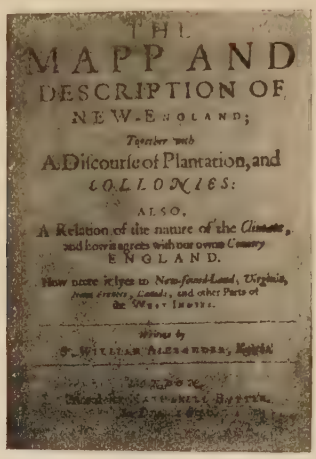
March 9, 1621 = March 19, 1622

The active interference of interlopers with the monopoly promised by the charter led to the sending of Robert Gorges, the younger son of Sir Ferdinando, as governor-general of New England, as stated in the preceding chapter. The new governor-general had a personal grant of a tract of land ten miles along the coast on the northeast side of Massachusetts Bay and extending thirty miles into the interior. His patent provided for a government to be administered "according to the great charter of England, and such laws as shall be hereafter established by public authority of the state assembled in parliament in New England." All decisions were to be

A Parliament for New England

1623

1622
1629


THE
MAPP AND
DESCRIPTION OF
NEW-ENGLAND;
Together with
A Discourse of Plantation, and
COLLONIES:
ALSO,
A Relation of the nature of the Climate,
and how it agrees with our own Country
ENGLAND.
How more it lyes to New-found-Land, Virginia,
from Florida, Canada, and other Parts of
the West Indies.
Written by
Sr. WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Knight.

Title-page of Alexander's *Mapp and Description of New-England*.

subject to appeal to the council for New England and "to the court of parliament hereafter to be in New England aforesaid." This projected parliament in New England affords an interesting suggestion of the large scope of the plans of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

New Hampshire and Maine

In 1622, a patent was issued, probably with Mason's approval, to David Thompson who, in the spring of 1623, made at Little Harbor (Rye), the first settlement in New Hampshire. He abandoned it in 1626. In 1627, Edward Hilton settled at Cocheco (Dover), a few miles up the Piscataqua. About the time of the return of the expedition under Admiral David Kirke from the conquest of Canada, Captain John Mason was granted so much of the province of Maine as lay between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua. To this he gave the name New Hampshire. Ten days later, Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges took out a patent for a vaguely outlined province on the lakes of the Iroquois, which territory they named Laconia. Captain Christopher Levett attempted a colony in Maine, built a house at York, and returned to England. About 1625, Bristol merchants bought Monhegan Island and Pemaquid Point and established a colony there. Pemaquid had already become well known to voyagers, fishermen, and other temporary sojourners there and still conspicuous ruins, uncovered in 1869, are believed to be relics of Spanish occupancy. In the long struggle between England and France for the possession of North America (the story of which will be told in later chapters), Pemaquid was repeatedly fortified as the most eastern English outpost as Castine was the most western stronghold held by the French. In 1902, the title to the remains of these early

November 7, 1629

November 17, 1629

Gomez? 1524-25

fortifications was conveyed to the state of Maine. A report of the commissioners in charge of these remains says that "the remnants of a well populated and well built town with paved streets now quite below the surface

1623
1629

Fort Rock of Pemaquid

of the cultivated soil,—the date of which establishment has not yet been discovered,—show that this was also in very early times occupied with intention of permanence." In 1630, a grant of lands in Maine was made to Richard Vines and John Oldham, and another grant on the other side of the Saco River to Thomas Lewis and Richard Bonython. On these lands Saco and Biddeford were founded.

February 12, 1629=February 22, 1630

Autograph of Richard Vines

After a vigorous attempt by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and a few of his associates to secure the necessary capital and to enforce their monopoly, the council for New England resolved to divide the territory of New England among the patentees. The Sunday meeting at Greenwich at which, in the presence of the king, the division was made is the last of which we have any record for several years. This royal drawing was only one of Gorges's numerous devices for putting money into the treasury of the council. When it came to nothing, as did many of Sir Ferdinando's earlier and later schemes,

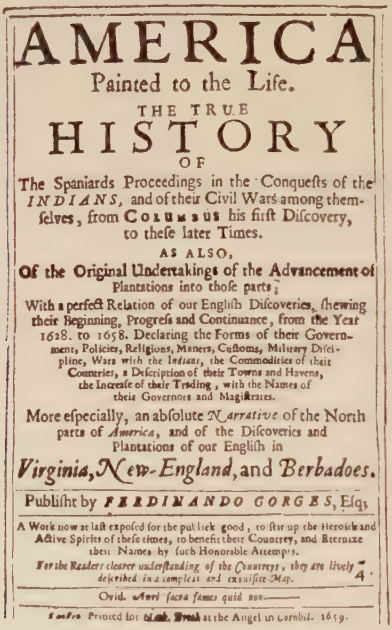
A Moribund Corporation

June 29, 1623

1623 the drawing was gently dropped from memory. The
1635 division of the territory was not confirmed. After the
May 5, 1623 granting of the patent to Christopher Levett, no grant of land seems to have been made until 1628, when the settlers at Plymouth were granted lands on the Kennebec, and the Massachusetts patent was issued. After this came the grants for Laconia and other domains in the present states of Maine and New Hampshire.

Division and Death

The accession of the earl of Warwick to the presidency of the council seems to have revived the hopes of the patentees and to have led to a renewal of activity. The date of the beginning of the Warwick administration is not known, but it was followed, prior to the end of June, 1632, by a serious quarrel between the earl and his associates. Lord Gorges was chosen president in April, 1635, soon after which came a new division of the New England coast among the members and the entering of this minute: "We have been bereaved of friends; oppressed by losses, expenses, and troubles; assailed before the privy council again and again with groundless charges; weakened by the French and other foes without and within the realm; and what remains is only a breathless carcass. We therefore now resign the patent to the king, first reserving all grants by us made and all vested rights —a patent we have holden about fifteen years." But the death scene was delayed, for the record of the council shows that, more than three years later, some of the grants



AMERICA
Painted to the Life.
THE TRUE
HISTORY
OF
The Spaniards Proceedings in the Conquests of the *INDIANS*, and of their Civil Wars among themselves, from COLUMBUS his first Discovery, to these later Times.
AS ALSO,
Of the Original Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into those parts;
With a perfect Relation of our English Discoveries, shewing their Beginning, Progress and Continuance, from the Year 1628. to 1658. Declaring the Forms of their Government, Policies, Religions, Maners, Customs, Military Discipline, Wars with the *Indians*, the Commodities of their Countries, a Description of their Towns and Havens, the Increase of their Trading, with the Names of their Governors and Magistrates.
More especially, an absolute *Narrative* of the North parts of *America*, and of the Discoveries and Plantations of our English in
Virginia, New-England, and *Berbadoes*.
Publisht by *FERDINANDO GORGES*, Esq;
A Work now at last exposed for the publick good, to stir up the Heroick and Active Spirits of these times, to benefit their Countrey, and Eternize their Names by such Honorable Attempts.
For the Readers clearer understanding of the Countreys, they are lively described in a compleat and exquisite Map. 4.
Ovid. *Auri sacra fames quid non*——
London Printed for *Nath. Brook* at the Angel in *Cornhil*. 1659.

Title-page of Gorges's *America Painted to the Life*

June 7, 1635

were increased, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Lord Gorges to have "sixty miles more added to their proportions further up into the main land." It was part of the plan to secure from the king a confirmation of the grants made by the last division and thus to ride over the Massachusetts patent of 1628. But most of the assignees neglected their claims and, except in the case of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, none received a royal charter. The king accepted the patent and resolved to take the management of the affairs of New England into his own hands. 1635

CHAPTER VIII

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

1625
1635

The Dorchester Adventurers

AT Dorchester, a hundred and fifty miles southwest from London, lived John White, a conforming Puritan and the rector of an English church. This good pastor was instrumental in forming the association of the "Dorchester Adventurers," many members of which were ship-owners of his parish. The object of this association was to make a settlement at some convenient point where sailors and fishermen might find comfortable shelter and have the benefit of religious ministrations. It is possible that they also had expectations of pecuniary advantage. In 1624, they began a plantation at Cape Ann under the patent granted to Winslow and others for the Plymouth Pilgrims. This little colony attracted the exiled Lyford and Oldham. In 1625, Roger Conant, a stray from the Pilgrim fold, moved thither from Nantasket to undertake the government on behalf of the Dorchester company. Other "religious and well-affected persons that were lately removed out of New Plymouth out of dislike of their principles of rigid separation" drifted thither. By this time, there were many persons living here and there along the coast outside of all the settlements, true "squatter sovereigns."

1624

Gloucester

Failure

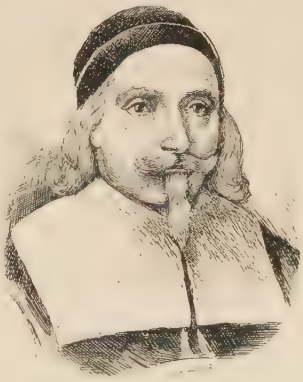
The scheme of combining fishing and planting was radically wrong and the colony soon fell into disorder. After losing nearly three thousand pounds, the Dorchester adventurers became discouraged and "took order for the sale of their joint stock property and the breaking up of

their plantation." A few of the most honest and industrious settlers resolved to stay and to take charge of the cattle sent over the year before; George Bancroft calls them "the sentinels of Puritanism on the bay of Massachusetts." 1627

The Massachusetts Bay Company

With Charles I. on the throne, and Laud, an unrelenting bishop, rapidly rising into influence at court, many hearts began to fail. As Separatists had done before so Puritans now began to think of exile "on the account of religion." Roger Conant, who had remained at Cape Ann, now wrote to John White, the "Patriarch of Dorchester," suggesting that a place called Naumkeag "might prove a receptacle for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in this part of the world." Through White's influence and at the request of the earl of Warwick, the council for New England granted to Sir Henry Roswell and Sir John Young, knights, and Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcomb, gentlemen, "that part of New England which lies between Merrimac and Charles rivers in the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay," and three miles north and south of said rivers, just as if the previously granted patents for said lands were wholly void. The patentees drew around them other knights and gentlemen as well as merchants, and the company of Massachusetts Bay was organized. It was more than a large land company, it was a society for Puritan colonization.

March 19, 1627 = March 29, 1628



John Endecott

The Settlement at Salem

When the patentees looked about for good men to lead the action, "they lighted at last on Master Endecott, a man well known to divers persons of good note." Captain Endecott was of an old Devon family largely interested in the development of tin mines with which

1628 Ralegh was at one time connected. On the twentieth of
1629 June, 1628, he sailed from Weymouth, the port of Dorchester, in the "Abigail," with his wife and perhaps forty more. He and his planters arrived at Naumkeag on the sixth of September, 1628, just three months after Standish's abatement of the nuisance at Merry Mount and about the time that Oldham arrived in England with Morton in his charge and with letters for Sir Ferdinando Gorges. At Naumkeag, Endecott found Roger Conant and others who had come from Cape Ann. By the prudent moderation of Mr. Conant, the fear and discontent of the "sentinels" were allayed. The old settlers joined the newcomers and swelled the grand total to fifty or sixty. In memory of the pacification, the name "Naumkeag" was subsequently changed to "Salem"—a Hebrew word signifying "peace."

Puritan and Pilgrim

In that first winter at Salem, many of the colonists were seized with the scurvy and other distempers, and the governor wrote to Plymouth for help. The Pilgrims promptly sent their physician, Deacon Samuel Fuller. This friendly service was the beginning of affectionate intercourse between the two colonies, from which both parties learned that the differences that had alienated Puritan and Separatist in England were unimportant in

May 11, 1629 New England. After Fuller's visit, Endecott wrote to Bradford: "It is a thing not usual that servants to one master and of the same household should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not — nay, to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you. . . . I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us; and I rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the lord in mercy revealed himself to me; being very far different from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular. . . . I shall not need, at this time, to be tedious unto you; for, God

willing, I purpose to see your face shortly." Doctor Leonard Bacon remarks that a letter is sometimes as much of a fact in history as a coronation or a battle. 1629

A Royal Charter

Endecott had left England as agent of a company, of which he was one of the proprietors. But he and his associates came into larger ideas, their vision widening as they went. They had friends at court as well as did the council for New England, and they had material resources for the lack of which so many of Sir Ferdinando Gorges's large schemes went awry. When they found, as they soon did, that they held a doubtful title under the grant of the council and that they were to be confronted by other claimants under earlier grants, they went directly to the throne. Through the intervention of Lord Dorchester, the patentees obtained from Charles I. a confirmation of their patent and a royal charter of incorporation with ample powers for the government of their territory.

March 4, 1628, o. s. = March 14, 1629, n. s.

The New Government

Although a royal proclamation of 1625 had a reference to private companies "to whom it may be proper to trust matters of trade and commerce, but cannot be fit or safe to commit the ordering of state affairs be they never of so mean a consequence," and had avowed the purpose of having "one and uniform course of government in and through all our whole monarchy," this charter changed the partnership into a body politic, "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England." It provided "that from henceforth forever there shalbe one Governor, one Deputy Governor and eighteen Assistants" who "shall applie themselves to take Care for the best disposeing and ordering of the generall buysines and Affaires" of the company "and the Government of the People there." It did also "nominate, ordeyne, make, & constitute our welbeloved the saide Mathewe Cradocke to be the first and present Governor," and in like manner named a deputy-governor and eighteen assistants, all of them "to continue in the saide severall Offices respectivelie for such tyme, and in such manner, as in and by theis Presents is hereafter declared and appointed."

1629 These officers were to hold monthly meetings, any seven of the assistants with the governor and deputy-governor constituting "a full and Sufficient Courte or Assemblie of the said Company for the handling, ordering, and dispatching of all such Buysinesses and Occurrents as shall from tyme to tyme happen touching or concerning the said Company or Plantacon." It further provided that the said officers should hold once each quarter "one greate generall and solempe assemblie" and gave authority to "the Governor or Deputie Governor and such of the Assistants and Freemen of the said Company for the Tyme being as shalbe assembled in any of their generall Courts aforesaide, or in any other Courtes to be specially sumoned and assembled for that Purpose . . . to make, ordeine, and establishe all Manner of wholesome and reasonable Orders, Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances" that might be found fit and necessary for the said plantation and the inhabitants there, provided they were "not contrarie to the Lawes of this our Realme of England."

Prevision and Abscission

Matthew Cradock, who had been president of the patentees, was thus continued in office as the first charter governor of the company, and Endecott became the first resident governor of "London's Plantation in Massachusetts Bay in New England." The founders of Massachusetts knew what they wanted and what they did not want. In each charter previously granted it had been provided that the government of the company should be fixed in England, and such a clause was inserted in the original draft of this charter. Winthrop states that "with much difficulty we got it abscinded." There were men of influence at and near the English court to whom the offer of a cash consideration would not be an affront and the Massachusetts patentees included men of means who would be little likely to let the document be worded ill if they could get it worded well. Whatever the means by which the elimination was secured, we have the assurance of the English historian, John A. Doyle, that the change is a full answer to those who held that,

in transferring the government to America, as they soon did, the patentees broke faith with the crown. 1629

This whole proceeding must have been very offensive to Gorges who found himself outgeneraled at court where he had been accustomed to have his own way and who recognized that the granting of the royal charter weakened the authority of the council for New England and cast doubt upon his son's title to lands granted by that council. From that time forward, Massachusetts had to count Sir Ferdinando as its persistent and most dangerous enemy. Fortunately for Massachusetts, Gorges was poor and the king was needy. A Dangerous Enemy

A few days prior to the receipt of the new charter, Cradock wrote to Endecott informing him that preparations for a large expedition were in progress. The letter evinced a deep desire to "wynne the natives to the Christian faith," and enjoined an attempt to purchase the Indians' claims "to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent . . . that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." In June, 1629, six vessels, one of which was the "Mayflower," brought to Salem four hundred and six persons, including a "plentiful provision of godly ministers," and several families of the Pilgrim church on their way from Leyden to Plymouth, one hundred and forty head of cattle and forty goats, together with provisions, arms, tools, and other things needed in a new colony. This good beginning shows that, though to the associated Puritans in England "no less than to the archbishop of Canterbury a renunciation of membership in the National Church was schism and schism was sin," there was something at work that gave them great earnestness and energy. The conflict between people and prerogative was fairly on. The parliamentary petition of right, memorable as the first statutory restriction on the powers of the crown since the accession of the Tudors, and the remonstrance of the house of commons against tonnage and poundage had been answered by the king's repudiation of the doctrine and his prorogation of parliament. Puritan Colonists June 7, 1628 June 26, 1628

1629 Ministers Provided

The "godly ministers" were Skelton and Higginson (nonconformists) and Bright (conformist). They were employed by the company and were to be members of the governor's council. This provision was in striking contrast to the policy of the London adventurers who left the Pilgrims for years without any pastor. Ralph Smith, a Separatist minister, who had gotten his goods on shipboard "before we understood of his difference in judgment in some things from our ministers," was required to promise that he would not exercise his ministry within the limits of the patent without the express leave of the governor. He went to Plymouth, where he was the first chosen into the ministry. After five or six years, he resigned his pastorate, as Governor Bradford has recorded it, "partly by his own willingness, as thinking it too heavy a burden, and partly at the desire and by the persuasion of others."

Hierarchical Authority is Thrown Off

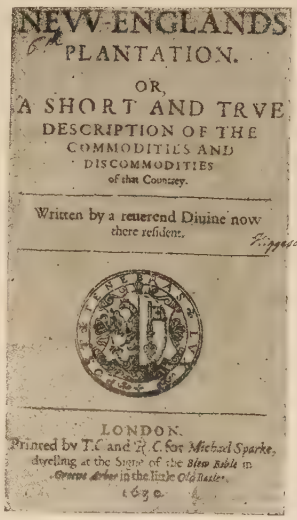
Two of the ministers sent by the company were nonconformists, and the colonists were beyond the reach of archbishops, high commissioners, and the act of uniformity. These colonists were men who mingled politics and religion and they now took what seemed to them to be the next step toward reformation. The state was to rest upon the church; the constitution of the church was, therefore, all-important. The company had sent out ministers, but it was a well-established Puritan notion that the godly people in every parish had a right to call their own minister. Many also believed that ordination ought to follow, and not to precede "that outward calling by the people which was to recognize the inward calling by the Spirit of God." These ideas were irreconcilable with the idea that holy orders received in England conferred any ecclesiastical authority in New England, and they controlled the action of the colony.

Congregational Ordination July 20

The governor set apart a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and a teacher. The first of the many "election sermons" in Massachusetts was probably preached that day. The answers of the candidates showed that they "expected to derive their right as official minis-

ters of Christ in the church, not from a prelatical or hierarchical vocation, but only from an inward call from God's spirit together with an outward call from the church itself." Satisfied with these answers, the people, by ballot, elected Samuel Skelton as their pastor and Francis Higginson as their teacher. It has been claimed that this was the first use, in America, of the ballot. Then came the ordination. "Mr. Higginson and three or four more of the gravest members of the church laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done, there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson." Another pivotal question soon arose, namely, whether the church was to consist of all the nominal Christians in Salem, or only of the godly. Skelton, Higginson, and Endecott seem to have had no very positive opinions on this point, but the necessity of meeting the issue by constituting a church more distinctly and formally than had yet been done soon became apparent.

1629


NEW-ENGLANDS
PLANTATION.
OR,
A SHORT AND TRVE
DESCRIPTION OF THE
COMMODITIES AND
DISCOMMODITIES
of that Country.

Written by a reuerend Diuine now
there resident.

LONDON.
Printed by T.C and R.C. for Michael Sparke,
dwelling at the Signe of the Blew Bible in
Greene Arbor in the little Old Bailey.
1630.

Title-page of Higginson's *New-Englands Plantation*

A New Church Covenant

It did not take the Salem Puritans a great while to see that it was "necessary for those who intended to be of the church solemnly to enter into a covenant engagement one with another, in the presence of God to walk together before him according to his Word." This conclusion made necessary another, namely, that the organization of the church must precede the ordination of its officers. The Separatists had thus organized their churches in England. These Massachusetts settlers were now getting on dangerous ground for Puritans. Teacher Higginson prepared a form for the expression of the faith and the mutual covenant of the thirty persons selected to be the first members of the Salem church.

1629 According to his illustrious descendant, this covenant might be expressed in the following words: "We covenant with the Lord and one with another, and do bind ourselves, in the presence of God, to walk together in all His ways, according as He is pleased to reveal Himself to us in His blessed word of truth." As the shores of England were fading from his sight, Francis Higginson had stood upon the stern of the ship and exclaimed: "Farewell, dear England! farewell the Church of God in England, and all Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it." At a later day, his separatism was candidly avowed.

Crescent Congregationalism

On the sixth of August, 1629, the thirty engaged to each other and to Christ as members of one church and the pastor and the teacher were again ordained. The Pilgrim church was invited to send delegates and did so. Governor Bradford and his companions declared "their approbation and concurrence" on behalf of the church at Plymouth and "gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success unto such good beginnings." Doctor Bacon has put on record, in triumphant notes, that "that elder church, cradled at Scrooby, nurtured and schooled at Leyden, and now at last victorious over the suffering and temptations of the wilderness, greeted its younger sister in apostolic fashion. . . . The church that had been brought over the ocean now saw another church, the first born in America, holding the same faith in the same simplicity of self-government under Christ alone."

The Ritual Repudiated

The third of the "godly ministers" sent out by the company, being a conformist, withdrew to Charlestown and soon emphasized his quiet protest by returning to the mother country. When the brothers John and Samuel Browne, members of the colonial council, held separate meetings and used the English ritual, they were summoned before Governor Endecott who assured them "that New England was no place for such as they" and

sent them back to England. This was the first official intimation of what soon came to be a palpable fact, that the Massachusetts Puritans had cut loose from the church of England. The anxious company rebuked the governor, not for doing wrong but for want of prudence, and cautioned him "to be very sparing in introducing any laws or commands which may render yourself or us distasteful to the state here to which (as we ought) we must and will have an obsequious eye." In six weeks, Endecott and Higginson had fixed the policy of Massachusetts, and "the Lord so disposed of all that there was no further inconvenience following upon it." Mr. Palfrey remarks that the officers of the colony never regarded as questionable their right to exclude dangerous or disagreeable persons from their domain, "any more than a householder doubts his right to determine who shall be sheltered by his roof." 1629

Selective Absorption

It is not necessary to question the sincerity of these self-exiled Puritans even if we imagine them skipping very lightly over the provision of their charter that "all and every the Subjects of Vs, our Heires or Successors, which shall goe to and inhabite within the saide Landes . . . shall have and enjoy all liberties and Immunities of free and naturall Subiects . . . as if they and everie of them were borne within the Realme of England," and lingering over the better thumbed page on which they found authority for their magistrates to "expulse" for their special defense and safety any person or persons who attempted "Detriment or Annoyaunce to the said Plantation or Inhabitants." It has been urged by

Puritan Costumes

1629 some recent writers that, under the charter, only the commercial privileges of the colony were exclusive, and that, "provided he respected them, a British subject had the same right to dwell in Massachusetts as in any of the other dominions of the Crown." On the other hand, Henry M. Dexter says that the Massachusetts Puritans had as much right to do as they did in such cases "as a lodge of Free Masons, going on an excursion into the Adirondack woods, would have to say distinctly that tickets will be issued to none but members of the order, their families and invited guests." At all events, the fulness of religious toleration had not yet arrived.

Oldham in England

While these things were taking place in New England, John Oldham had taken Morton of Merry Mount to Old England, passing the outward-bound Endecott on the ocean. Morton seems to have escaped without even a rebuke and Oldham lost no time in making friends with Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Robert Gorges was then dead and the title to his grant had passed to his brother John. John Gorges soon transferred to Oldham the district between the Charles and the Saugus rivers and extending into the interior five miles on the former and three miles on the latter. This formal concession of such a tract in the heart of the territory granted to the Massachusetts Bay company raised a very serious question of title. Acting probably in collusion with Gorges, Oldham

His Overtures

asked the Massachusetts company to place in his hands its trade in furs; he wanted no pay for himself other than the surplus profits above three hundred per cent in three years. The matter was under discussion during the spring months of 1629, Oldham insisting that the company give him exclusive management of its trading affairs or leave him at complete liberty to trade as he saw fit within the limits conveyed to him by Gorges. The trade in beaver-skins was the most immediately valuable privilege that the company had, and the profits to be derived from it had already been set aside as a fund to be used in providing for public worship and the common defense. The company, therefore, could not accept Oldham's

proposal, even if the exuberance of promise had not shaken faith in its soundness and its author. 1629

But Oldham was a stubborn man as the people at Plymouth had found out. When he had made up his mind, he must have his way or fight. Charles Francis Adams has called him "a human bull-dog." In April, the Massachusetts company decided to have nothing more to say to Oldham. Cradock informed Endecott that Oldham was trying to fit out a vessel in which he proposed to go over and take possession of his claim, and instructed him to send at once a strong party to occupy the disputed territory and to deal summarily with the interloper if he put in an appearance. The "George," one of three vessels then lying in the Thames loading with emigrants and stores for the colony, was hurried away and had been at sea a month before Oldham was informed that the company would not consider the proposition further.

Diamond Cuts Diamond

April 17

Endecott received these instructions on the twentieth of June and acted promptly. Three brothers by the name of Sprague had arrived on the "George." They at once set out through the woods and, with the consent of the sachem afterwards known to the English as Sagamore John, established themselves on a hill in Mishawum, where one Thomas Walford, an English blacksmith, dwelt in his thatched and palisaded cabin. Thither they were soon followed by a larger party from Salem. The place was regularly laid out and renamed; before the end of the year, Charlestown had in and near it about one hundred persons. The question of title had been forestalled by actual occupation. Oldham had been outwitted; in the following year, he returned to America and settled at Watertown as one of the freemen of the colony. About this time, Samuel Maverick, son of an English nonconformist clergyman, settled at Noddle's Island (now East Boston) where, according to Thomas Prince's "Chronology" for 1630, "he had built a small fort with four great guns to protect him from the Indians." We shall meet Maverick again, he appearing in a later chapter as a staunch, royalist dissenter from the Massachusetts church establishment.

Charlestown Planted

1629 The Transfer of the Charter July 28

At midsummer, while Endecott and the ministers at Salem were getting rid of the Book of Common Prayer, Cradock was submitting to the council in London a confidential proposition for a transference of the company and its charter from London to Massachusetts Bay. The naked question was where the future meetings of the company should be held, but it involved a measure of freedom from interference by church or state, and the surrender of the government and policy of Massachusetts to those who should inhabit there. The possibility of such a transfer was doubtless in the minds of the incorporators when they secured the elimination of the customary clause that required the government of the colony to be held in England. A few days after the submission of Cradock's proposition, twelve men met at Cambridge. The brevity of the intervening time is significant of a prearranged plan. The twelve were men of large fortunes and liberal culture, and six of them were members of the council of the Massachusetts company. They signed an agreement that, if, within a month, "an order of the court should legally transfer the whole government together with the patent, they would themselves pass the seas to inhabit and continue in New England." Among the twelve were John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, John Humphrey, William Pynchon, and Richard Saltonstall. A few days later, at a meeting of the company's court, there was a general consent that "the government and patent should be settled in New England." By those uplifted hands, a commercial corporation became the germ of an independent commonwealth. The removal wrought no change in the relations of the company to the crown and conferred no right on emigrants who were not members of the company. This important fact has often been forgotten or ignored by the too harsh critics of the too intolerant Puritans.

August 29

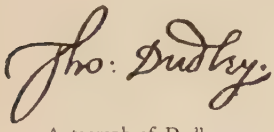
Winthrop Chosen Governor See the Frontispiece

This action rendered necessary a new election of the company's officers and, at a general court in October, John Winthrop of Groton in Suffolk was chosen governor for a year. He was a lawyer in the prime of life, of

good family and comfortable estate, and worthy. John Humphrey, a son-in-law of the earl of Lincoln, was chosen deputy-governor; eighteen others were elected "assistants." Humphrey's departure was delayed, and Thomas Dudley was chosen deputy-governor in his place. Dudley long had managed the estates of the earl of Lincoln. Isaac Johnson, another son-in-law of the earl and one of the "assistants," was the richest of the emigrants. Simon Bradstreet had studied at Cambridge; Theophilus Eaton was a London merchant who had served his king as minister to Denmark; William Vassall was an opulent West India proprietor. The English historian, Chalmers, says that "the principal planters of Massachusetts were English country gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortunes; of enlarged understandings improved by liberal education; of extensive ambition concealed under the appearance of religious humility." Their concealed ambition was to lay the foundations of "a renovated England, secure in freedom and pure in religion." The six members of the council who had signed the Cambridge covenant were reëlected, and others were chosen from those who were to go with them, to the end that the government of the colony should rest with its resident members.

1629

John Winthrop's Crest



Autograph of Dudley

There was great joy among the persecuted Puritans of England as the rumor of this solemn enterprise spread through the land. The winter was spent in getting ready ships and other needed things. Cradock, the late governor, furnished two of the needed ships. A large transport, the "Eagle," was bought and renamed "Arbella," in honor of one of the emigrants, Arbella, wife of Isaac Johnson and sister of the earl of Lincoln. It became the flag-ship of the fleet. Mainly by the resources of the emigrants themselves, seventeen vessels, including

Joyous Preparation

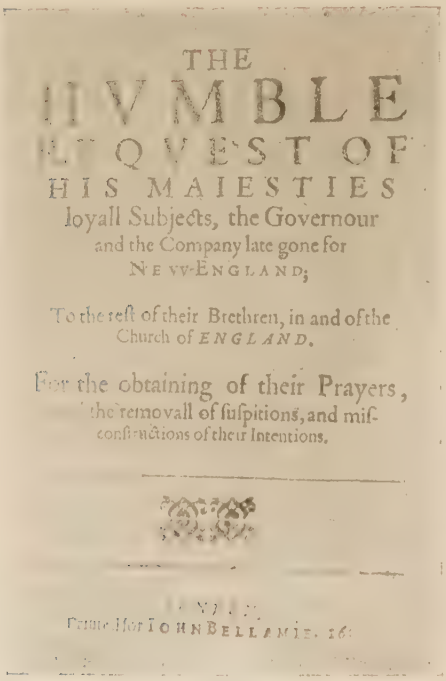
1629–30

1630 the "Mayflower," were employed that season to carry from England to New England about a thousand persons, with horses, cattle, and other things necessary or convenient for life in a new country.

Winthrop's Fleet

Early in April, 1630, Winthrop and seven hundred companions embarked in eleven ships, bearing with them the charter. Considered as a colony, it was the strongest that had yet set out for America, but it was more than a colony, it was the migration of a people. From the "Arbella" at Yarmouth, Winthrop and some of his fellow passengers drew up a farewell address "To the rest of their Brethren, in and of the Church of England." It gave assurance that "we desire you would be pleased to take notice that the principals and body of our company esteem it our honor to call the Church of England from whence wee rise, our deare mother, and cannot part from our native countrie, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not therefore as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body and, while we

April 7


THE
HVMBLE
REQVEST OF
HIS MAIESTIES
loyall Subjects, the Governour
and the Company late gone for
NEW-ENGLAND;

To the rest of their Brethren, in and of the
Church of ENGLAND.

For the obtaining of their Prayers,
the removall of suspitions, and mis-
constructions of their Intentions.

Printed for IOHN BELLAMIE. 16

Title-page of the Farewell Address of Winthrop and his Fellow-passengers

have breath, we shall syncerely indeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare." 1630

If "The Church of England" meant the English state church (Mr. Palfrey says that it did not), the promise of "syncere indeavour for the continuance and abundance of her welfare" was not well kept according to the letter. "The sentiment of loyalty gradually yielded to the unobstructed spirit of civil freedom," is George Bancroft's gentle paraphrase of Teacher Higginson's robust declaration that "a sup of New England's air is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale." Within two years from that time, there were seven churches in the vicinity of Boston, "not loathing the milk wherewith we were nourished," perhaps, but pretty thoroughly weaned therefrom. Ecclesiastical Independence

Winthrop's "Stone Pott"

After a voyage of more than two months, the "Arbella" arrived at Salem on the twelfth of June, 1630. The "Mary and John" had arrived a fortnight before and landed her hundred and forty passengers at Nantasket. Before winter, the arrivals numbered a thousand. More than eighty of Endecott's colony had died and so many of the survivors were weak and sick and suffering that one of the ships was sent back to England for supplies. During the ensuing year, there was a scantiness of shelter and a superfluity of sickness. Endecott's government was quietly abolished, the direction of affairs naturally passing from the subordinate to the principal. Winthrop and others entered Boston harbor and explored the country on the Mystic and the Charles. The Arrival at Salem June 17

The emigrants had intended to keep together in a single settlement, but, as Dudley wrote to the countess of Lincoln, "wee were forced to change counsaile and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly." Some were best pleased here and others there and, in the end, each settled where to him seemed best. A few remained at The Dispersion March, 1631

1630 Salem; some tarried amid the picturesque scenery where they founded Lynn (Saugus); Charlestown (Mishawum) received the governor and there the poor "lay up and down in tents and booths round the hill" that the next century was to make historic. Across the Charles toward the south was Shawmut Point, with its spring of excellent water, its promise of rich cornfields and fruitful gardens, and William Blackstone. It is supposed that Blackstone was a Cambridge graduate and that he had been a clergyman of the church of England. We know that about 1623 he left New Plymouth and set up his hermit home at Shawmut Point. A few years later, he again moved on and became the first white settler in what is Rhode Island — a pioneer of pioneers, with no more fondness for the Puritan theocracy than for the Anglican hierarchy. At Shawmut Point, Anne Pollard, in youthful frolic, was the first to leap ashore, and there William Coddington of Boston, England, built "the first good house." Shawmut became Trimountain because of its triple knolls on Beacon Hill where the state-house now lifts its gilded dome, and, in its turn, Trimountain dwindled into Boston. Some went to Mattapan, where South Boston is; the name was soon changed to Dorchester in honor of "the Patriarch," John White. Some went up the Mystic; some went up the Charles; William Pynchon, the treasurer of the colony, became one of the founders of Roxbury; settlements were begun at Cambridge, Water-

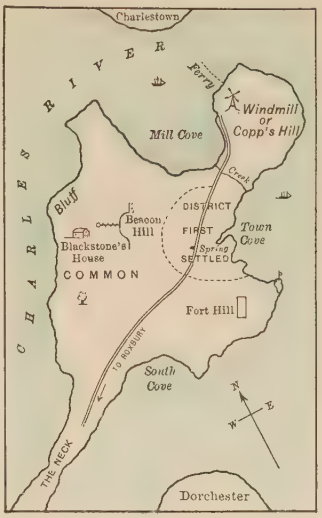
Map of the Country about Boston in 1630

September 7–17

town, and Medford where, in the next century, at midnight by the village clock, Paul Revere

> . . . heard the crowing of the cock
> And the barking of the farmer's dog.

1630



Map Showing the Part of Boston First Settled

This dispersion was regretted, but there was no time to lose and each planter made haste to build as health permitted. Winthrop's official state was extremely simple, his unofficial life was severely democratic.

A Congregational Colony

At Charlestown, on the thirtieth of July, Winthrop and three others organized a "congregation." On the following Lord's Day, others were received into church membership. Higginson was wasting with a fatal fever when Winthrop arrived at Salem; a week after the organization of this second reformed congregation, he died. Then the members of the congregation chose John Wilson, a graduate of King's college, Cambridge, and ordained him as their pastor by the laying on of hands after the manner of the church at Salem. The choice and installation of elders and deacons completed the organization of a church free from the jurisdiction of any power outside its own membership. With the way thus blazed, Massachusetts easily became a colony of Congregational churches. The assistants met frequently as a court for the transaction of a great variety of business, such as prohibiting the use of firearms by the Indians, offering a bounty for the killing of wolves, and ordering Thomas Gray, "for divers things objected against him, to remove himself out of the limits of the patent." From the first, the Puritan colony exercised its right "to possess its soil exclusively and to keep it clear of nuisances."

August 6

As already stated, the Massachusetts charter provided

1630 Local Government Established

for courts of assistants and general courts. For several years after the transfer of the charter, the powers and duties of the governor and assistants sitting as a court of assistants for the trial of civil and criminal causes were not distinguished from the powers and duties of the same magistrates acting as a general court with executive and legislative powers. The separation of functions that resulted in the court of assistants becoming a purely judicial body was accomplished very gradually. From 1629 to 1641, the records of the proceedings were entered in the same book, one set intermixed with the others — the occasion of no little confusion in some historical writings of great value. The first formal meeting of the court of assistants after the transfer of the government to Massachusetts was "holden at Charlton" on the twenty-third of August, 1630. At that meeting, provision was made for the maintenance of ministers at the public charge — the first step in a steady march toward a complete theocracy. The first general court of the company held in America met at Boston on the nineteenth of October, 1630. At this meeting, "it was propounded if it were not the best course that the ffreemen should haue the power of chuseing Assistants when there are to be chosen, & the Assistants from amongst themselues to chuse a Governor & Deputy Governor, whoe with the Assistants should haue the power of makeing lawes & chuseing officers to execute the same. This was fully assented vnto by the generall vote of the people & erection of hands." This delegation of power, born of distrust of popular suffrage, was soon rescinded. At the same meeting, more than a hundred persons, including Roger Conant and several others of the earlier planters, asked to be admitted as freemen of the company. In the following May, Winthrop and Dudley and the other officers who remained in the colony were reëlected "by the general consent of the court according to the meaning of the patent." A hundred and eighteen persons, most of whom had made application as above recorded, were admitted as freemen of the company. As fewer than

twenty members of the company had come to New England, this extension of the franchise was a surrender of controlling power. By that act, residents of Massachusetts became a majority of the English corporation. 1630 1632

A Limited Franchise

The freemen took an oath "to be obedient and conformable to the laws and institutions of this commonwealth." More important than this was the limitation of the franchise, a proceeding that colored the character of the colony. "To the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men," it was ordered and agreed that, "for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." Ministers might not hold civil office, but franchise was held by virtue of church membership and that was controlled by the clergy. Thus was God to rule His people, making known His holy will through the called saints who had entered into covenant with Him. An aristocracy was founded and in its hands all political power was vested. It was an aristocracy founded on righteousness rather than on lands or lineage. This rule of franchise was not modified until after the English restoration. The power by which the assistants elected the governor and deputy-governor was short-lived for, at the general court in May, 1632, the freemen retook the right into their own hands. At the same time, they ordered the choice of "two of every plantation to confer with the Court about raising a public stock," i.e., assessing taxes—the beginning of opposition to the magistrates and the germ of a second legislative house.

John Winthrop's Cup

The Town-meeting

As in the case of Plymouth, the beginnings of local civil government are obscure. The Salem meeting at

1630 which Skelton and Higginson were chosen by ballot has
1633 been called the first town-meeting in Massachusetts. For several years, church officers and town officers were elected at the same meeting. In fact, town and church were practically identical. The first distinct town government organized was that of Dorchester, where it was ordered that "there shall be every Monday before the Court, by 8 o'clock, A. M., and presently by the beating of the drum, a general meeting of the inhabitants of the plantation at the meeting house there to settle and set down such orders as may tend to the general good." Similar action was soon taken by other plantations which were informally recognized by the general court as towns.

October 8, 1633

Unfamiliar Hardships

Some of the colonists were accustomed more to ease and luxury than to the hardships and sorrows of pioneer life. Winthrop lost his son, Lady Arbella Johnson survived the transfer "from a paradise of plenty and pleasure" to a wilderness of wants only a month, and her husband died of grief a few weeks after.

> . . . He try'd
> To live without her, lik'd it not, and dy'd.

A hundred or more returned to England and two hundred died before December. On the fifth of February, 1631, the "Lion" that Winthrop had sent back to England for food returned. Among the twenty passengers were Roger Williams and his newly wedded wife. This young minister found the church too conservative, in that "they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England." Moreover, he denied all jurisdiction of the civil magistrates in matters of conscience or belief, or their right to punish a breach of any of the first four commandments.

February 15, 1632, n. s.

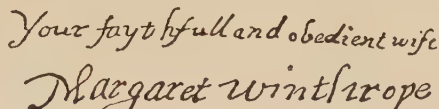
Roger Williams

> And when religious sects ran mad
> He held, in spite of all his learning,
> That if a man's belief is bad,
> It will not be improved by burning.

As Higginson was dead and as the Boston church was not a fitting place for the newcomer, Williams became the

teacher of the Salem church. This moved Winthrop and the court to write to Endecott that "they [at Boston] marvelled they [at Salem] would choose him without consulting with the council." In a few months, Williams found a more congenial home at Plymouth.

1630
1635



Autograph of Margaret, John Winthrop's Wife

Boston the Capital

It had been the plan to make Newtown (Cambridge) the capital of the colony, but the superior advantages of the opposite peninsula were soon recognized. Although Boston had only a few cabins and, at high water, looked like two islands, it was thought to be "the fittest place for public meetings of any place in the Bay," and gradually took on the character of the colonial capital. Few colonists arrived, there being a natural prudent desire on the part of those who contemplated emigration to hear from those who had already made the venture. Nor was it without difficulty that they came who did. For instance, in the summer of 1632, the "William and Francis" brought about sixty passengers, most of whom seem to have been smuggled out of England. Among the names of the sixteen who were known to the government, we cannot find those of the reverend gentlemen, Stephen Bachiler, Thomas James, and Thomas Welde, "though each was then on board to elude the malignant feebleness of Archbishop Laud."

Colonial Stability

The few "unsavory persons" whom Winthrop found at Salem and sent back to England maligned the colony and were seconded by the influence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason. But the attempt to vacate the Massachusetts charter in 1632 was unsuccessful, as was the more serious effort made a few years later when the council for New England resigned its patent into the hands of the king. The growing trouble in England, already a cloud bigger than a man's hand, contributed largely to the safety of the colony at Massachusetts Bay.

CHAPTER IX

THE OLD DOMINION

1624
1674

Governor Wyatt and his Council

WHEN the Virginia company was dissolved in 1624, the government of the colony was intrusted to a privy council committee. There was no wasting of time. The Virginia patent had been annulled on the sixteenth of June. On the twenty-fourth of June, sixteen members of the committee were named; on the fifteenth of July, forty more were appointed and the commission was sealed. These commissioners had authority to do anything that the late company might have done and their powers were to continue during the pleasure of the king. Evidently James I. was determined not to allow Virginia again to pass from his control. He continued Wyatt as governor by royal commission and with him associated a council. The new governor and council were to "direct, govern, correct, and punish . . . as fully and amply as any governor and council resident there at any time within five years last past"—a quiet recognition of the assembly as constituted by the company. What James I. would next have done with his prerogative we do not know, for, while he was busy drawing up a constitution for Virginia, he died.

August 26, 1624

March, 1625

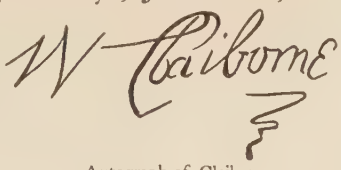
The General Assembly

Charles I. brought with him to the throne less of interest in American affairs than had been manifested by his father. He recommissioned Wyatt and appointed a full board of councilors to act with him, but he gave no order or authority for the election of burgesses and without a house of burgesses there could be no "general

assembly." The governor and council seem to have acted in concert with leading citizens appointed or elected for that purpose. The style and title of the popular body thus constituted was "The Governor, Council, and Colony of Virginia assembled together" — probably, under the conditions, the best possible substitute for a "general assembly." In fact, the practical administration of the government was about the same as it had been during the five years preceding the overthrow of the charter. Moreover, Virginia was slowly recovering from the calamities of 1622 and, as long as the colonists were left alone, it mattered little whether they were ruled by king or corporation. All in all, there seems little cause for History to mourn the dissolution of the London company. 1625 1626

Governor Yeardley and Secretary Claiborne

Sir George Yeardley was soon sent to assure King Charles that the Virginians were satisfied with the government they then had. Early in 1626, Governor Wyatt was called to Ireland by the death of his father and the king, "being forced by many other urgent occasions (in respect of our late access unto the crown) to continue the same means that was formerly thought fit for the maintenance of the said Colony and plantation, until we should find some more convenyent means upon mature advice to give more ample Directons for the same," appointed Sir George Yeardley to be governor, John Harvey, Francis West, George Sandys, John Pott, and nine others to be members of the council, and "William Claiborne to be our Secretarie of State of and for the said Colony and Plantation of Virginia." The creation of the office of secretary of state indicates the growth of the executive business of the colony. The king also sent a gracious address to "Our trusty and well-beloved burgesses of the grand assembly of Virginia," an official recognition that was not forgotten. Like his father, the young king wanted to get along without a parliament, a thing



Autograph of Claiborne

1627 difficult for an English monarch who needed money. He began to dream of himself as the sole consignee of Virginia tobacco and of immense profits from his monopoly. Within a fortnight from his accession he, by proclamation, gave Virginia the exclusive right to supply tobacco for the British market. In August, 1627, he proposed to become sole agent; although in March, 1628, Virginia acquiesced, the king never became the sole consignee. The colony began again to prosper, the export of tobacco was half a million pounds a year, and, in 1627, a thousand immigrants arrived. In November of that year, Yeardley died. Near the chancel of the old church at Jamestown, two tombstones were unearthed in 1901. One of these showed the figure of a knight and covered a skeleton with spurs at the heels and fragments of gold lace at the shoulders. It is thought that this was the tomb of Sir George Yeardley.

Governor Francis West

Yeardley's commission had named John Harvey as his successor, but Harvey was not in Virginia and the colonial council had been authorized to elect the governor "from time to time as often as the case should require."

November 14–24, 1627

On the day after Yeardley's burial, the council elected Francis West, a brother of Lord Delaware, to the chief magistracy *ad interim*. More intent, for the moment, upon securing a revenue for the crown than for anything else, Charles I. gave little attention to political tendencies in the American colonies. In Virginia, local affairs were left almost wholly to the council and the still tolerated burgesses, who did not fail to make known by memorials and petitions their desire for a continuance of their popular form of government. In the fall of 1627, King Charles yielded his consent and soon sent written instructions that removed the shadow. The instructions were

February 22, 1627=March 4, 1628

received at Jamestown and, a few days later, Governor West ordered the first election of burgesses under the crown. He also convoked the general assembly "to consult and advice concerning the several parts and points of his Majestie's Letter and to answer the same in every particular." The general assembly met pursuant to this

call and, within a fortnight, Governor West, five of the councilors, and thirty-one of the burgesses signed "The humble answere of the Governor and Councell, togeather with the Burgesses of the several plantations assembled in Virginia, unto his Majestie's letter concerning our tobacco and other commodities," as already recorded. Governors Wyatt, Yeardley, and West had been faithful to the cause of representative government and the Virginia general assembly again became a robust reality. 1628 1630 March 10, 1627=March 20, 1628

Governor West soon went to England. Until the arrival of a new governor, John Pott, a resident physician and surgeon, acted as deputy governor of the province. During Pott's administration, George Calvert (Lord Baltimore), who had petitioned the king for Virginia lands and wished to found a colony, arrived at Jamestown. Calvert was a Roman Catholic and the Virginia colonists had declared their pleasure "that no papists have been suffered to settle their abode among us." His record as a member of the London council and as a commissioner for the colony after the dissolution of the company, his subserviency to the late king, his religion, and other causes made him unpopular in Virginia. The colonial records show the sentence of "Thomas Tindall to be pilloried two hours for giving my Lord Baltimore the lie and threatening to knock him down." Calvert declined to take the offered oath of allegiance and supremacy and was requested to take ship for England at the earliest opportunity. Lord Baltimore Visits Virginia October 1, 1629

The new governor arrived in March, 1630, and, in the following July, Pott was tried for stealing cattle and found guilty, the first case of trial by jury in Virginia. The privy council reviewed the case and declared that Pott had been unjustly treated. The additional charge of "conviviality" has been unduly magnified. The new chief executive was Sir John Harvey, the first royal governor, the institutional link between the colonial legislature and the home government. England had begun the attempt to centralize the control of her colonies. The governor drew his authority from England and was A Royal Governor

1630 inclined to check the rising power of the popular assemblies. In England, the king stood for absolute personal rule; in America, the royal governor stood as the representative of the king. On each side of the Atlantic the growing issue was against arbitrary rule. In the new plantations, the contest was begun as soon as colonial growth made colonial government a matter of importance. It drew sustenance from the example of parliamentary supremacy in England, and developed an increasing vigor that the restoration of 1660 could not check.

Saint Luke's Church, Smithfield, Virginia

The Unpopularity of Governor Harvey

As Percy L. Kaye has pointed out, the early charters gave little protection to the colonists against the authority of the grantees. In Massachusetts, an advantage was secured by the removal of the corporation to the colony and when Maryland was begun the charter required the assent of the freemen to proposed legislation. In Virginia, there was no such limitation until the assembly was constituted in 1619. As the colonists did not deem the limitations adequate there grew up a strong popular opposition to executive prerogative. Harvey had been one of the royal commissioners sent to Virginia with unfriendly design by King James in 1624, and now had authority to fill all vacancies occurring in the council. He was self-willed, passionate, and unpopular with the colonists. This initial unpopularity was rapidly intensified to a general animosity.

The First American Revolution

Early in 1635, the Virginians were excited by an alleged invasion of their territorial rights by Marylanders. Secretary Claiborne championed the cause of Virginia and his personal interests, and brought about an open conflict. When the unpopular governor removed the popular secretary from office there was general fury. When Harvey refused to transmit the protest of the burgesses against the attempt of the king to monopolize

the trade in tobacco, there was added anger. When Claiborne's ship was seized, and the governor gave his support to the Maryland authorities, the already furious Virginians were driven to desperation. An indignation meeting was held and the principal speakers thereat were arrested. At a meeting of the council, the governor demanded that the prisoners be condemned and executed by martial law, and the council insisted that there should be a regular trial. After arguing and storming, the governor clapped one of the council on the back and exclaimed, "I arrest you on suspicion of treason." Then another of the council seized the governor with the explanation, "And we the like to you, sir!" Samuel Matthews forced Harvey down into a chair and promptly, upon signal, the house was surrounded by armed men. The colonial records show this entry: "On the twenty-eighth of April, 1635, Sir John Harvey thrust out of his government; and Captain John West [another brother of Lord Delaware] acts as governor till the king's pleasure known."

1635

April 27

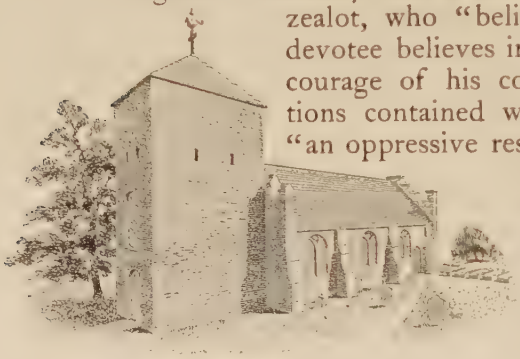
An Unsuccessful Career

The episode was bloodless but it constituted revolution. As a part of the history of English America, it was the first of a revolutionary series and therefore worthy of remembrance. When the assembly met on the seventh of May, it approved the proceedings of the council and ordered Harvey sent to England for trial on a charge of treason. The Virginians were royalists ready to defend their king; they were staunch churchmen ready to fight against popery or dissent; they were just as ready to take up arms against king or commonwealth if their rights were put in jeopardy. King Charles declared that "to send hither the governor is an assumption of regal power; it is necessary to send him back though to stay but a day." Harvey returned to Virginia in January, 1637; the struggle between the two branches of the government had resulted in the triumph of the executive. For the two years that Harvey governed Virginia, he seems to have done his best to make life miserable for his enemies. The king, having vindi-

1639 cated his royal dignity by reinstating the deposed governor, soon removed him. Harvey was then overwhelmed with lawsuits and soon died penniless and friendless.

Governor Berkeley February, 1642

In November, 1639, Sir Francis Wyatt became governor; two years later, he was superseded by Sir William Berkeley, the best known of the colonial governors of Virginia. Berkeley was a courtly, well-bred, merciless zealot, who "believed in monarchy as a devotee believes in his saint," and had the courage of his convictions. His instructions contained what Bancroft has called "an oppressive restriction on colonial commerce. No vessel laden with colonial commodities might sail from the harbors of Virginia for any ports but those of England," and all trade with foreign vessels was forbidden, except in case of necessity. For a time, the restriction was inoperative; for the rest, the royal authority was mildly exercised. The colonists were free from English taxation, and when they protested against the proposed reëstablishing of the old London company, the king wrote from his refuge at York that they should not be alienated from his immediate protection and gave recognition to their representative government by addressing his letter to "Our trusty and well-beloved, our Governor, Council, and Burgesses of the Grand Assembly of Virginia." This cordial response helped to hold Virginia faithful to the royal cause in a degree that surpassed that shown by any other of what we now call the thirteen colonies. About this time, Colonel Richard Lee, who had been a member of the privy council of Charles I., came to Virginia. He at once became a man of much importance in the colony.



Jamestown Church Restored
(Copyright, 1903, by Samuel H. Yonge)

July 5, 1642

An Established Church

Prior to the annulling of the charter, there were many nonconformists in Virginia, mostly south of the James River. Among their leaders were Richard Bennet and

Daniel Gookin, of whom we shall hear again. In 1631, the Virginia assembly enacted "that there be a uniformity throughout this colony both in substance and circumstances to the canons and constitution of the Church of England." In 1642, three Congregational ministers arrived from Boston with letters of recommendation from Governor Winthrop to Governor Berkeley. At the next meeting of the Virginia assembly, it was enacted that all ministers in the colony "are to be conformed to the orders and constitution of the Church of England, and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach publicly or privately, and that the governor and council do take care that all nonconformists, upon notice of them, shall be compelled to depart the colony with all convenience." The Massachusetts ministers did not linger long and the Congregational "success was limited." Although the Long Parliament was waxing strong in England and soon appointed the Warwick board of commissioners for the plantations, it was three-quarters of a century before dissent again became appreciable in Virginia.

1642
1644
March, 1643
November 24, 1643

Virginia Costumes

Indian Troubles

In April, 1644, the Indians, doubtless at the instigation of Opechancanough, now the head chief of the Powhatan confederacy, attempted another general massacre and killed more than three hundred at the frontier settlements. They doubtless knew that English blood was being shed by Englishmen in England. Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts recorded the suggestion "that this evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among

1645 1646 them." But the blow was not so nearly fatal as was the one dealt by the same hand twenty-two years before.

June, 1645 Governor Berkeley sent out a military force that drove back the Indians and then went to England where he spent a year. On his return, in 1646, he took the field with all the forces of the colony, severely punished the offenders of two years before, and took prisoner the still fiery Opechancanough, now bowed beneath his burden of almost a hundred years. The captive was shot (so the story goes) by his English guard. The Powhatan confederacy died with the captor of John Smith. That death brought peace and prosperity to the English colony. In 1648, there was in Virginia a population of fifteen thousand white persons and three hundred negro slaves. For several years, the annual export of tobacco was one and a half million pounds.

Civil War in England

In the mother country, events were hurrying history. "My rule is by right from God, said the monarch; your rule is by grant from the people, said the Puritan. I will do as I please, said the king; please do as we will, said his subjects." The grand remonstrance and the accompanying petition of the house of commons to the king was an appeal that kindled afresh the spirit of the country. A month later came the impeachment of the five members, and a week after that Charles I. withdrew from London. In August, he raised his standard at Nottingham and the civil war was begun. The crescent Cromwell and his Roundheads would not be conquered by defeats and Marston Moor and Naseby trod on the heels of the cavalier successes. In 1646, the last blow for the crown was struck and Sir Jacob Astley told the brief but mighty story: "My masters, you have done your work and may now go

December 1, 1641

January 3, 1642

Charles I. of England

play." Thence it was less than a three years' journey for the captive king by way of Triplow Heath to Whitehall's scaffold. 1649 1650

The Coming of the Cavaliers

Charles I. was beheaded in January, 1649, the end of an "unconscionable and burglarious career;" in October, the colonial assembly, representing twenty thousand Virginians, recognized his son as their sovereign and offered an asylum to his fugitive adherents. Many of the English nobility, gentry, and clergy, whom the decapitation filled with horror and despair, emigrated to Virginia and added strength to both the colony and its royalist sentiment. Three hundred and thirty such, including Colonel Henry Norwood and Major Francis Morrison and Richard Fox, arrived that year in a single vessel. Broken in worldly estate by the war but with an undiminished fondness for worldly pleasures and accustomed luxuries, clinging in loving loyalty to king and church, the cavaliers of England came in large numbers to Virginia, almost the only place on earth where they could find the sympathy and solace that their natures craved and the open opportunity of which they were in need. There is no doubt that there were many "parliament men" among the burgesses and those whom they represented; but there is no more doubt about the accuracy of the statement that officially "Virginia was whole for monarchy." In 1650, Governor Berkeley sent Colonel Norwood to Holland to invite the exiled prince to become the ruling monarch of Ralegh's "Inglishe Nation." The uncrowned king returned the compliment by sending the governor a new commission, for himself, and another, as treasurer of the colony, for his messenger. In 1657, came John Washington, the great-grandfather of a greater Washington.

June 3, 1650

Parliamentary Commissioners

In the year of Marston Moor, Berkeley, soldier and courtier, had hastened from his Greenspring manor to the scene of civil war. But the royal cause was quickly lost and Sir William could better serve as a regnant governor than as a conquered cavalier. He, therefore, hastened back across the sea. For the next four

1650 1652 years, parliament had enough to do at home and Virginians ruled Virginia in their own way. But colonial trifling with the commonwealth was not long to be tolerated. While the Virginians were honoring orders issued by Charles II., the Long Parliament was enacting measures to secure obedience. An embargo was placed on the trade with the royalist colonies at Barbados, Antigua, Somers Islands (Bermuda), and Virginia. In September, 1651, the month that saw the overthrow of King Charles at Worcester, the council of state appointed commissioners for the reduction of "all the plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake to their due obedience to the Parliament and the Commonwealth of England." Two of these commissioners were Richard Bennet and William Claiborne, Virginia planters. Both were Puritans in religion and politics. Bennet had been the victim of religious persecution, while Claiborne had suffered much and now nursed an ancient grievance.

October 3, 1650

Berkeley gives up the Government

Early the next year, the parliamentary fleet entered the Chesapeake and a frigate sailed up the river and summoned Jamestown to surrender. The Virginians had prepared to fight but, after long and serious debate, Berkeley gave the government into the hands of the parliamentary commissioners. The surrender was made on terms that confirmed Virginia in her existing privileges and practically made her the mistress of her own destiny. The agreement almost recognized the equality of the contracting powers and provided that the people of Virginia should have all the liberties of free-born persons in England, and, in spite of the navigation act, "as free trade as the people of England." The Virginia assembly was continued, and a general amnesty covered the past. The constituent source of the executive was wholly changed. For the first year, the officers for the colony were to be chosen by the commissioners and the burgesses; after that, by the burgesses alone. Such officers were to rule according to instructions of parliament, the laws of England, and the orders of assembly.

March 12, 1652

When the articles signed by the commissioners were

presented to parliament, that body confirmed most of the provisions, but the article that provided that no forts should be erected, no garrisons maintained, no customs exacted, and no taxes levied without the consent of the Virginia assembly was referred to a committee, the report of which was silent on the subject. As the colony had four times asserted its exclusive right of imposing taxes, the omission is noteworthy. In Virginia, the house of burgesses set up a new government in April. The burgesses, most of whom were royalists, unanimously elected as their chief magistrate Richard Bennet, one of the parliamentary commissioners. They also elected William Claiborne as secretary of state and chose a council of twelve with powers to be defined by the assembly. Bennet was the first governor of Virginia chosen by the representatives of the people. He was deprived of the veto, but he and the members of his council continued to be members of the assembly. The executive had been independent and supreme; it was now made dependent on the legislative body and subordinate to it. Berkeley was too good a royalist to make terms for himself and haughtily withdrew to his plantation at Greenspring.

1652
1655
Governor Bennet

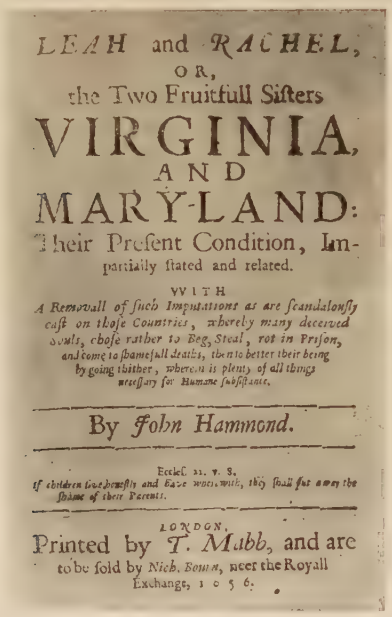
While the commissioners were establishing a Puritan government in Maryland, a letter from Cromwell to Governor Bennet was crossing the Atlantic. This letter bade him "permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you or by any other upon pretense of authority from you." Bennet went to England as London agent of the colony and succeeded in showing that, as commissioner of parliament, he had not exceeded his authority. The assembly elected Edward Digges to the governorship. In 1656, Digges was suc-

Colonial Self-rule

Oliver Cromwell

March, 1655

1656 ceeded by the Samuel Matthews who, in 1635, had forced
1658 Governor Harvey to sit down. Matthews was the third successive Roundhead governor chosen by the assembly. Cromwell made no appointments in Virginia and his commissioners were chiefly engaged with Maryland affairs.


LEAH and RACHEL,
OR,
the Two Fruitfull Sisters
VIRGINIA,
AND
MARYLAND:
Their Present Condition, Impartially stated and related.
WITH
A Removall of such Imputations as are scandalously cast on those Countries, whereby many deceived souls, chose rather to Beg, Steal, rot in Prison, and come to shamefull deaths, then to better their being by going thither, wherein is plenty of all things necessary for Humane subsistance.
By John Hammond.
Eccles. 22. v. 8.
If children live honestly and Have wherewith, they shall put away the shame of their Parents.
LONDON,
Printed by T. Mabb, and are to be sold by Nich. Bourn, neer the Royall Exchange, 1656.

Title-page of Hammond's *Leah and Rachel*

The Reign of the Burgesses

Virginia was longing for the restoration of the Stuarts, but the spirit of popular liberty was alive. The house of burgesses that reconstituted local government after the capitulation of 1652 declared that "the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses" as the representatives of the people. The burgesses took an oath to maintain the general good and prosperity of the colony and its people, and then required the governor and members of the council to do the same. Authority was gradually transferred from governor and council to the popular assembly until, in royal style, Governor Matthews
April 1, 1658 decreed the dissolution of the legislature. But the governor's order dissolving the assembly was revoked by himself and his own election was annulled by the burgesses. They, having thus declared and exercised their right of both election and ejection, reëlected Matthews, "who by us, shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor and captain-general of Virginia." The governor acknowledged the validity
April 3, 1658 of both processes and took the new oath of office. This complete triumph of the legislature over the executive was of short duration.

In September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died; in April, 1659, Richard Cromwell resigned the protectorate. As Governor Matthews died about this time, Virginia was left without a governor and England without a monarch. The burgesses immediately assembled and enacted "that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly; and all writs shall issue in its name until there shall arrive from England a commission which the assembly itself shall adjudge to be lawful." They then elected Sir William Berkeley as governor. Berkeley acknowledged that he was "but a servant of the assembly" and that he could, in no event, dissolve that body or in any wise abridge the authority on which his own office rested. Bennet's name stood first on the roll of the council and with him was associated William Claiborne as secretary of state. And yet, this people wanted a Stuart for a king and, a few months later, rejoiced at the restoration!

1659
1660

Berkeley again Governor

March, 1660

Charles II. entered London as king in May, 1660, was proclaimed in Virginia in the following September, and soon sent a second commission to Governor Berkeley. In the following year, the assembly appropriated forty-four thousand pounds of tobacco to pay the cost of an address to the king. Because of their submission to the "execrable power that so bloodily massacred the late King Charles First of blessed and glorious memory," it was enacted that "the thirtieth of January, the day the said king was beheaded, be annually solemnized with fasting and prayer, that our sorrows may expiate our crime, and our tears wash away our guilt." A few months later, it was ordered that all acts that "might keep in memory our forced deviation from his Majesty's obedience" should be expunged. We hardly need be told that the legislature easily lost the ascendency over the executive that it had exercised for eight years. The new monarch did not at once forget the loyalty of the Virginians, "the best of his distant children." He quartered the arms of their colony with those of England, Scotland, and Ireland (as if it was an independent member of the

The Old Dominion

1660 British empire) and thus conferred the title of *The Old Dominion.*

Social Conditions

At this time, Virginia was what, in evident loving loyalty to his native commonwealth, Mr. Cooke has called a little garden spot cut out of the American wilderness. There were well-to-do planters in the lowlands, well-armed housekeepers and log houses in the higher country, hardy pioneers and stockade forts on the frontiers still beyond. "It is everywhere an English society, swearing allegiance to the king on every occasion, but ready in the same breath to swear revolution and fight for the latter oath against the former." These colonists were of the same stock and speech as the settlers of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay; as to ideas, one was almost the antithesis of the other. The New England colonists settled in groups of families forming congregations; the Virginians set up detached establishments forming individualized domestic centers. In Massachusetts, small farms made possible compact communities; the township became the unit of political organization, and the town-meeting the fountain of authority. The ambition of many of the Virginia proprietors was to become territorial lords; families were so widely separated "that no man could have seen his neighbor without looking through a telescope, or be heard by him without firing off a gun." Under such circumstances, there were no town-meetings and the county became the unit of political organization.

County Court and Vestry

As a rule, each Virginia county had its eight justices of the peace, appointed by the governor and constituting the county court which met as often as once a month. At first, the place of meeting "consisted of the court house and very little else." As other buildings clustered around, the growing town continued the earlier name, so that such names as Fairfax Court House are common on the map of both of the Virginias. Court-day, especially in the spring and fall, was a general holiday, the Virginia analog of the New England town-meeting. As the governor generally appointed justices on nomination of

the court, the county court practically filled its own vacancies and was, therefore, a close corporation. In most cases, the county was divided into several parishes. The chief authority in the parish was the vestry, which consisted of twelve men. In 1662, the vestrymen obtained the power of filling vacancies in their own number and thus became another close corporation. 1660 1662

Democracy in Captivity

As the parish taxes were determined by the vestry, so the county taxes were determined by the county court. Each year the governor appointed a sheriff of the county, generally the senior justice. The sheriff collected the taxes and presided over the elections for burgesses. Directly or indirectly, local officials owed their positions not to the people but to the governor, and the governor had been appointed from beyond the sea. He represented British imperial interference with American local self-government, and the general antagonism to him was an excellent schooling in political liberty. The spirit of individual independence was almost universal and, more than in the case of any other colonist, the Virginian's will was his chief law. As the New England Puritan was perhaps overfond of legislation, the Virginian cavalier seemed to have an instinctive dread of too much government.

Religion and Education

In 1661, there were forty-eight Virginia parishes. Some of them were so large that one historian of the colony says that some parishioners lived fifty miles from the parish church; hence, "paganism, atheism, or sectaries." Many of these parishes were unsupplied with ministers for years, laymen reading the church service for "the lowest possible wages for which a substitute for a minister could be hired." Still Berkeley reported that "our ministers are well paid, by my consent, should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But, as of all other commodities, so of this — the worst are sent us, and we have few that we could boast of." In these "highly rarefied communities," common schools with a general attendance of the children were evidently impracticable. In his report of 1661, Governor Berkeley said: "Every man

1660 instructs his children according to his ability:" a scheme
1662 that dooms the children of the illiterate to hopeless ignorance. In 1671, he said: "I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

Transportation and Aristocracy

Tidewater Virginia is so veined by navigable rivers that the settler had only to build his mansion near his

Map of Part of Colonial Virginia

water-front to secure easy passage for self, family, and friends, and convenient shipment for the products of his plantation. With these "running roads" ready made, there was little incentive to take up the hard work of making good land routes. In his sketch of "The First Virginians," a characteristically delightful study of social organization, Professor Moses Coit Tyler has pointed out that among families thus isolated there was little chance for mind to kindle mind, and that the forces of

society tended "to create two great classes, a class of vast land-owners, haughty, hospitable, indolent, passionate, given to field-sports and politics, and a class of impoverished white plebeians and black serfs." As was inevitable in a dominion where lands and laborers were the chief constituents of wealth, where slaves, black and white, were counted by the thousand, and into which the cavaliers had brought the English system of primogeniture and entail, a favored class held all military, judicial, legislative, and executive power. This aristocracy had not hitherto acted as a political party, but the English restoration was a Virginian revolution. It took the power from the people who did not regain it for more than a century. 1660 1662

A Royalist Assembly

In 1661, Governor Berkeley, in the name of the king, issued writs for an assembly. This assembly was a royalist gathering of new men with new principles. The established system of representation was gradually overthrown, and legislative service for indefinite periods became the sorry substitute for frequent elections — the common safeguard against the abuse of the delegated powers of a constituency of freemen. The governor and council were authorized to levy taxes, the right of prorogation was established, and there was no general election of burgesses for the next fifteen years. Hitherto the several counties had paid their representatives and thus controlled them. This assembly fixed the remuneration of its members at two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco or about nine dollars a day, a serious burden in a new country in which money had a great purchasing value. Bancroft says that the permanent salary of the governor was greater than the annual expenditure of the colony of Connecticut, although Berkeley declared that it would not "maintain the port of his place; no government of ten years' standing but has thrice as much allowed him." The inevitable discontent was more inflamed by frequent false returns of elections made by the sheriffs appointed by the governor and not responsible to the people. Back of their returns no one could go; the people had no redress short of revolution.

1660 1662 In 1662, a committee was appointed to codify the statutes of the colony. Although four-fifths of the parishes were without ministers, conformity was demanded, and every one was required to contribute for the maintenance of the reëstablished church of England. Quakers were persecuted and the oath of obedience and supremacy, at which the Puritan conscience revolted, was rigorously exacted and a penalty of two thousand pounds of tobacco was imposed upon "schismatical persons" who refused to have their children baptized. In 1675, complaint was made to the governor and council that "John Biggs, contrary to the ordinances of the Church of England, established in this Colony, refuseth to come to church, and alsoe refuseth to christen his children, which is alsoe contrary to severall Acts of Parliament and an Act of Assembly," although he had been ordered by the county court to do so.

Oppressed White Men

Enslaved Black Men

Effective measures were taken for the protection of the Indians and the debauchery of white male adults. Virginia reversed the common law of England and adopted the maxim of the Roman law that the children should be bond or free according to the condition of the mother. The father's child become his property and kinship was robbed of heirship. Literally, the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children. In 1670, a Virginia statute declared that "all servants, not being Christians, imported into this country by shipping shall be slaves." The odor of sanctity vanished when, a few years later, this was added: "Conversion to the Christian faith doth not make free." It had already been enacted that "the death of a slave from extremity of correction was not accounted felony, since it cannot be presumed that prepensed malice, which alone makes murther felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate." In 1672, it was made lawful to wound or even to kill escaping fugitive colored slaves.

The Navigation Acts

The restrictions upon colonial commerce proposed in the instructions to Sir William Berkeley in 1641 represented an English policy that was not new. Before the

discovery of America, an act "to increase the navy which is now greatly diminished" attempted to compel English subjects to export and import goods in English ships with crews preponderatingly English. Other navigation acts were passed at later periods and, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, parliament gave consideration to such questions at six different sessions. A proclamation was issued in 1624, and orders in council at a later date, prohibiting the carriage of Virginian tobacco in foreign bottoms, and, in 1641, English merchants urged that the rules be embodied in an act of parliament. With the double purpose of encouraging English shipping and conciliating the English colonies, the Long Parliament enacted that no duty should be levied on goods sent to the colonies in English ships. After the execution of Charles I. and the parliamentary embargo of 1650, came the famous navigation act, under which trade with England and her colonies was to be carried on in such ships "as do truly and without fraud belong onely to the People of this Commonwealth, or the Plantations thereof, as the Proprietors or right Owners thereof; And whereof the Master and Mariners are also for the most part of them of the People of this Commonwealth." Holland had almost monopolized the carrying trade of the world and the English government came to the aid of the English merchant. The Dutch looked upon this legislation as a breach of amity and their vain protests were followed by a naval war.

1660
1662
5 Richard II., cap. 13
1646
October 9–19, 1651

Although the navigation act of the commonwealth was aimed at Dutch commerce, and of itself inflicted no wound on Virginia or New England, it led to the measure of 1660, which was full of the mischievous germs of the mercantile system that formed the foundation of the coming colonial policy of Great Britain. It is worthy of notice and remembrance that in Barbados, the governor, council, and assembly objected to such legislation, expressed their resolution of opposing it to the extent of their power, and, more than a hundred years before the American declaration of independence, boldly declared

From Bad to Worse

1660 that "they totally disclaimed the authority of the British
1662 parliament in which they were not represented." But the West India island was reduced by the parliamentary forces and the objectionable navigation act was imposed upon them.

A Grievous Restriction

In 1660, parliament granted Charles II. a subsidy of five per cent on all imports or exports of England or of "any dominion thereunto belonging," but the tax was never levied in the American colonies. Most of the severe provisions of the navigation act of 1651 were reënacted, and the restrictions so modified that George Bancroft has paraphrased the language of the act to make it read: "No merchandise shall be imported into the plantations but in English vessels, navigated by Englishmen, under penalty of forfeiture." The paraphrase would not have been unfair if its author had set forth that an explanatory act of 1662 set forth that "it is to be understood that any of His Majesty's Subjects of England, Ireland, and His Plantations are to be accounted English, and no others;" i.e., that the word "English" included all subjects of the English crown, and therefore the English colonists in America. By the terms of this act, all foreign-built ships were to be deemed alien. The restriction was felt as a grievance by the Virginians, who for some time had shipped large quantities of tobacco in Dutch vessels.

12 Charles II., cap. 18

14 Charles II., cap. 11

The "Enumerated" Articles

The second clause of the act prohibited foreigners from becoming merchants or factors in the colonies, legislation that was directly in the interest of the English shopkeeper. The eighteenth clause provided that certain "enumerated" American products, viz., sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, fustic, "or other dying woods," should not be shipped from the colonies to any "Port or place whatsoever other than to such English Plantations as doe belong to His Majesty, His Heires and Successors or to the Kingdome of England or Ireland or principallity of Wales or Towne of Berwicke upon Tweede there to be laid on shore under the penalty of the Forfeiture of the said Goods or the full value thereof, as alsoe of

the Ship with all her Guns Tackle Apparel Ammunition 1660
and Furniture, the one moyety to the Kings Majesty 1662
His Heires and Successors, and the other moyety to him that shel seize informe or sue for the same in any Court of Record." The shipment of the enumerated American products would not interfere with the sale of English products in English markets. From 1660 to the end of the revolutionary period, all the exported tobacco of Virginia and Maryland had first to be carried to England. Although more than half of it was reëxported to other European countries and a large part of the import duty thereon was repaid as a "drawback," the restriction involved additional freight charges and put profits into the hands of the English middlemen, as was the obvious purpose of the legislation. It has been urged in extenuation that American tobacco could find a continental market only in the northern and central parts of Europe, that England was at the natural entrance to this area, and that no cheaper method of putting the American narcotic in the continental market was to be found. But the purpose was selfish and the effect could hardly fail to be injurious to the colonist. Naturally, the American planter had to sell his products of this class at the price that the English buyer was willing to pay, and in the legislation he recognized a direct exploitation of the colonial traffic for the benefit of the mother country.

An English Protective Tariff

Another class of American commodities, which it was desirable should not be offered in English markets in competition with English products, the planter might ship to foreign ports "south of Cape Finisterre," the further from England the better for the English shopkeeper. Adam Smith said that "if the whole surplus produce of America, in grain of all sorts, in salt provisions and in fish, had been put into the enumeration and thereby forced into the market of Great Britain, it would have interfered too much with the produce of the industry of our own people." The object of the act of 1651 was to encourage English shipping; that of 1660, to encourage English manufactures. Mr. Egerton, an English writer,

1660 1663 says that "the rules as to the enumerated articles were the first definite statement of the theory that the colonies existed only for the benefit of the mother country." The idea, sanctioned by the English common law, that the colonists were merely Englishmen beyond the sea, was overpowered by another that recognized "foreign plantations" in English colonies. It was soon found that more juice might be squeezed from the colonial apple by another turn of the parliamentary press.

A Parody on Free Trade

The navigation act of 1660 had given to English ship-owners a monopoly of the carrying-trade between the colonies and England, and to English merchants a monopoly of the traffic in the "enumerated articles." But English vessels might still carry goods (other than those enumerated) freely between the ports of America and those of continental Europe. In 1663, another act required all European goods to be landed in England before exportation to the colonies. The American planter had to buy of the English shopkeeper; up went the price of goods. The American planter had to sell to the English shopkeeper; down went the price of produce. The colonial candle was burning at both ends. Perhaps the colonist was not injured as much as his descendants have imagined, but it is pretty certain that he was displeased and resented what Adam Smith declared to be "a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind."

15 Charles II., cap. 7

Enforcement

The navigation act of 1660 stirred earnest protest on both sides of the Atlantic and loaded the state papers with complaints of its violation. In New England, it was practically a dead letter, for the double reason that New England did not produce any of the "enumerated" articles, and that the act provided for "its enforcement by means of an oath taken by the governor appointed by the crown, an officer who was non-existent in the New England colonies." The difficulty was increased by the nearness of New Netherland, the open door of a contraband trade that English law could not reach. The gift of this Dutch territory by the English king to the duke of York was more than a fraternal courtesy. It made

March 12, 1664

more easy the enforcement of the navigation acts and the collection of the king's revenues. It was a direct injury to the people of Virginia, whose prosperity depended largely on free trade in tobacco. 1662 1672

But New England ships and ports were "English." The intercolonial commerce was rich enough to excite envy and, in 1672, the press was given another turn. Free trade between English colonies was taken away and certain commodities exported from one colony to another were subjected to a tariff tax. Little by little, the greedy tide arose until "America was forbidden by act of parliament, not merely to manufacture those articles which might compete with the English in foreign markets, but even to supply herself, by her own industry, with those articles which her position enabled her to manufacture with success." When the English landholder saw the merchant and the manufacturer plundering the planter, he demanded his share of the booty as the price of his acquiescence, and an English ministry offered a bounty on the exportation of corn. The system that began by lessening the price of the tobacco that the Virginia planter had to sell ended in raising the price of the bread that the English laborer had to buy. It may not have been an adequate "pledge of the ultimate independence of America," as George Bancroft called it, but, whether actual and serious injury or not, it was an irritant the chief tendency of which was in that direction.

Industrial Prohibition

25 Charles II., cap. 7

Let us try to be fair in our consideration of these English commercial regulations. In the first place, they were wholly consistent with the accepted economic doctrines of that day. Whether they interfered in some degree with colonial interests or not, it then seemed almost axiomatic that the home government had a right to insist that colonial products and colonial supplies should pass through British ports. Moreover, colonial trade and industry were no longer wholly or chiefly under the control of the chartered companies to which the grants were made by the crown and upon which the crown could exert direct pressure as it saw fit. Lands were now generally held in

An Imperial Necessity

1662 1663 fee simple, and trade was in the hands of individuals not all of whom were resident in England. Conditions had changed radically and administrative methods must change not less radically, unless English authority was to become a reminiscence in English plantations. If colonial affairs were to be regulated in the interests of the mother country, imperial control of America was a necessity. The comprehensive measures now under view were the proper logical fruits of that necessity. But in the American colonies, from Virginia to New England, other forces than logic were at work.

Berkeley Becomes a Carolina Proprietor April 30, 1661

The Virginia assembly took alarm at the violation of the "freedoms" of the colony and sent Sir William Berkeley to urge its grievances before the king and to seek redress for his loyal subjects. Berkeley returned in the fall of 1662, without anything for Virginia but with a personal interest in the newly created province of Carolina. In spite of her fidelity, the Old Dominion received fewer favors at the hands of Charles II. than did the far less loyal colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Berkeley "obeyed his interests as landholder more than his duty as governor," cutting off new settlements from Virginia territory and establishing a separate government over them. William Claiborne, long time secretary of state, was displaced by Thomas Ludwell, commissioned by the king.

Autograph of Berkeley

The Oliverian Plot

With the assembly of 1661 riding rough-shod over the people, extravagant emoluments for officials, arbitrary taxation by close vestries and uncontrolled magistrates, the franchise restricted, religious liberty denied, and education out of reach, we need little wonder that, in 1663, some of Cromwell's soldiers, who had been shipped to Virginia as bondmen, made an attempt to overthrow the government. The "Oliverian Plot" was easily suppressed although it was thought serious enough to call for four hangings and the setting apart of the intended

insurrection day as a day of annual thanksgiving. But the great political event of this period was the restriction of the elective franchise. In 1670, it was discovered that the "usual way of chusing burgesses by the votes of all" produced tumults at the elections and would lead to the "choyce of persons not fitly qualified for so great a trust." It was, therefore, enacted that "none but freeholders and housekeepers shall hereafter have a voice in the election of any burgesses." The legislature elected in 1661 for two years only had repealed the law that limited the duration of its service and, like the coexistent English parliament which was not dissolved for eighteen years, seemed disposed to perpetuate its power indefinitely. In 1670, the disfranchised majority could only present their grievances to an adjourned assembly, they could not elect successors.

1663
1670
Suffrage Restricted

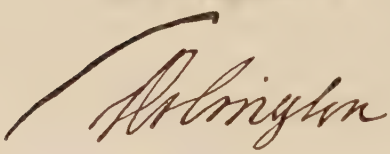
In 1670, Governor Berkeley sent an exploring party across the mountains into the valley of the Kanawha. Even after the submission of the report, there was a belief in the existence of mountains of gold and silver and of rivers "falling the other way into the ocean." The governor's report of that year shows that the population of the colony was about forty thousand, including six thousand white servants and two thousand negro slaves. The tobacco export was fifteen thousand hogsheads (twelve million pounds), the tax on which was two shillings a hogshead, and the price of which was so low that an old writer says that the proceeds of the crop would hardly keep the planter clothed. The remarkable increase of the population from fifteen to forty thousand in two decades was largely due to the fact that Virginia had become the promised land of "distressed cavaliers." When there was no safety for them in England, in Virginia they might "hunt the fox and toast the king and talk with old comrades who had preceded them of Marston Moor and the fearful Naseby, and how the good cause had gone down in blood."

Prosperity

About nine years after the restoration of Charles to the throne, a grant of the "Northern Neck," i.e., the country between the Rappahannock and the Potomac

Lords Culpeper and Arlington

1673 rivers, was made to Lord Culpeper, a cunning and covet-
1674 ous member of the council of trade and plantations. This bore hard on the holders of plantations that had long been under cultivation, but a more wanton exercise of royal prerogative was to follow. The earl of Arlington was "the best bred person at the royal court" and father-in-law to the king's bastard son. To these two, in 1673, the king gave "all the dominion of land and water called Virginia" for the term of thirty-one years. This royal recklessness roused the large landholders who formed the greater part of the long-continued assembly and, in 1674, they sent Francis Morrison and two associates to carry to the king their "request not to be subjected to our fellow-subjects." Berkeley's royal commission had expired, and the assembly that owed its existence to his connivance asked the king to appoint their patron governor for life.



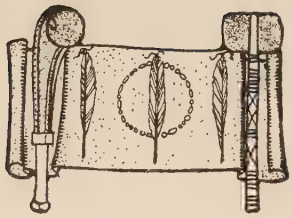
Disappointment and Discontent

The Virginia agents were also instructed to solicit a charter that would exempt from any "tax or imposition laid on the people of Virginia but by their own consent, expressed by their representatives in assembly as formerly provided by many acts." The king ordered the preparation of such letters-patent, and subsequently gave order that the said grant pass under the great seal. Six weeks later, he fell from the grace of gratitude and ordered that "the lord high chancellor of England doe forbeare putting the great seale to the patent concerning Virginia, notwithstanding the late order of the nineteenth April last past." When the story was told in the Old Dominion, the loyal churchman may have taken down his psalter, wiped off its dust and mournfully read: "All men are

November 19, 1675

April 19, 1676

liars;" and again: "Put not your trust in princes." 1674
With such rewards for loyalty, Virginia was ripe for revolt. Only an immediate grievance and a popular leader were required to fan the slumbering fire into open revolution, and the Old Dominion had not long to wait for them.



CHAPTER X

MARYLAND BEFORE THE RESTORATION

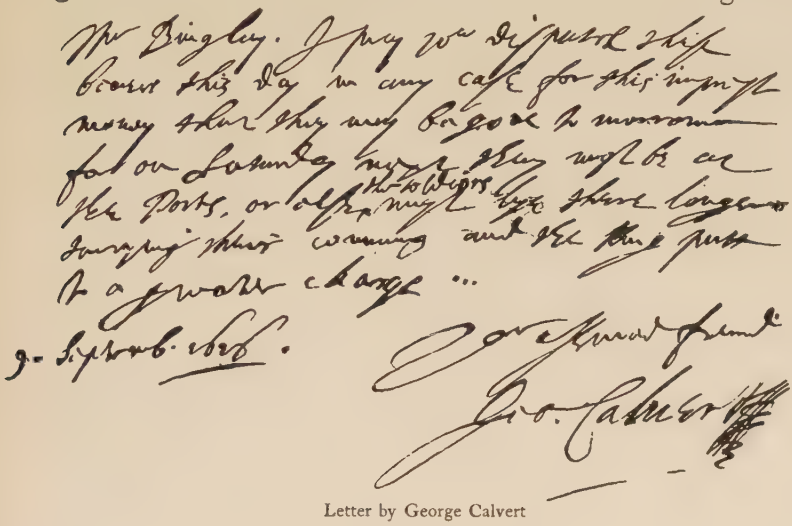
1623
1660
Lord Baltimore

GEORGE Calvert was born in Yorkshire about 1580, educated at Oxford, knighted in 1617, and appointed by the king in 1619 as one of the two principal secretaries of state. While holding this office, he obtained a patent for the southern part of Newfoundland which he called Avalon, and where he planted a colony in 1623. About this time, he became a Roman Catholic, after which the king allowed him to sell his secretaryship, retained him in the privy council, and raised him to the Irish peerage as Baron Baltimore. In 1627, he went with his wife and children to dwell in Avalon, but in spite of Kirke's declaration that the climate was good for all "except Jesuits and Schismaticks," the proprietor grew weary of his plantation. Because of

George Calvert

Newfoundland frosts and Puritan fanaticism, Lord Baltimore forwarded to Charles I. his petition for Virginia lands, with privileges like those that King James had granted him in Newfoundland. Without waiting for

1629
1632
August, 1629



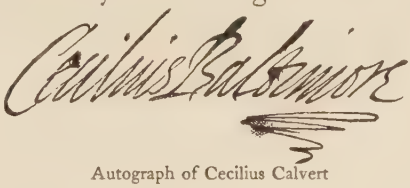
Letter by George Calvert

the king's reply, he sailed for Virginia in September, accompanied by his lady and a small retinue. As we have seen, when he arrived at Jamestown, he found that he was an unwelcome guest.

October 1

Lord Baltimore returned to England and found the king disposed to grant his petition. When Claiborne opposed his request for lands south of the James River, some one suggested the desirability of crowding the Dutch by planting a colony north of the Potomac. With his own hand, the Catholic peer drew up a charter for "Terra Mariæ" (Latin for "Mary's Land"), so named in honor of the Catholic queen. Before the charter passed the seals, he died. In the following June, the patent was issued to his son and heir, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore.

Maryland

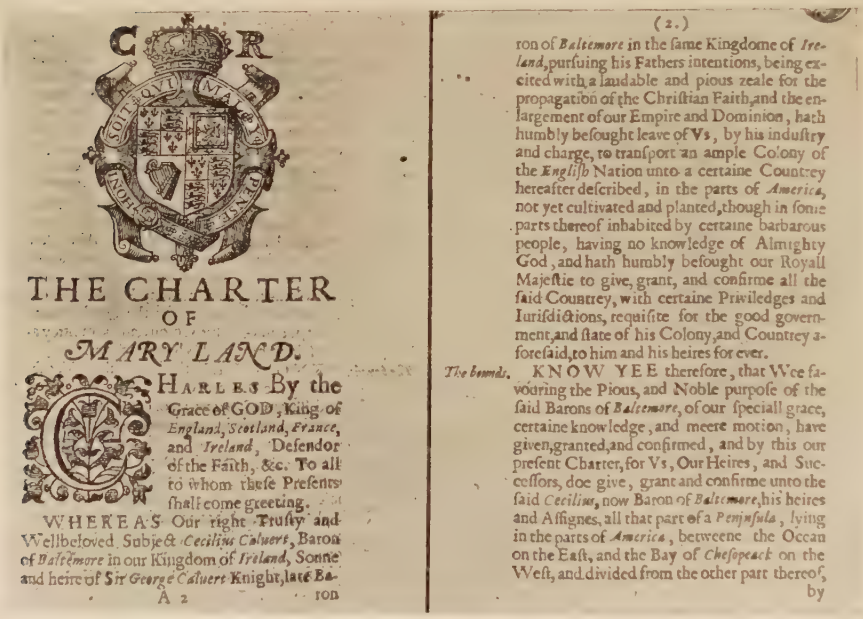


Autograph of Cecilius Calvert

April 15, 1632

1632 The Charter

The limits of the grant were clearly defined, and included parts of Pennsylvania and West Virginia and all of what is Maryland and Delaware. The government was of a type familiar in England, but (excepting that of the short-lived Avalon) new in America. The lord proprietor might coin money, grant titles of nobility (except such as were then in use in England), create courts, appoint judges, pardon criminals, and, in brief, exercise all the royal rights, privileges, and prerogatives that had



C R

THE CHARTER OF MARYLAND.

CHARLES By the Grace of GOD, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come greeting.

WHEREAS Our right Trusty and Wellbeloved Subje & Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltemore in our Kingdom of Ireland, Sonne and heire of Sir George Calvert Knight, late Baron

A 2

(2.)

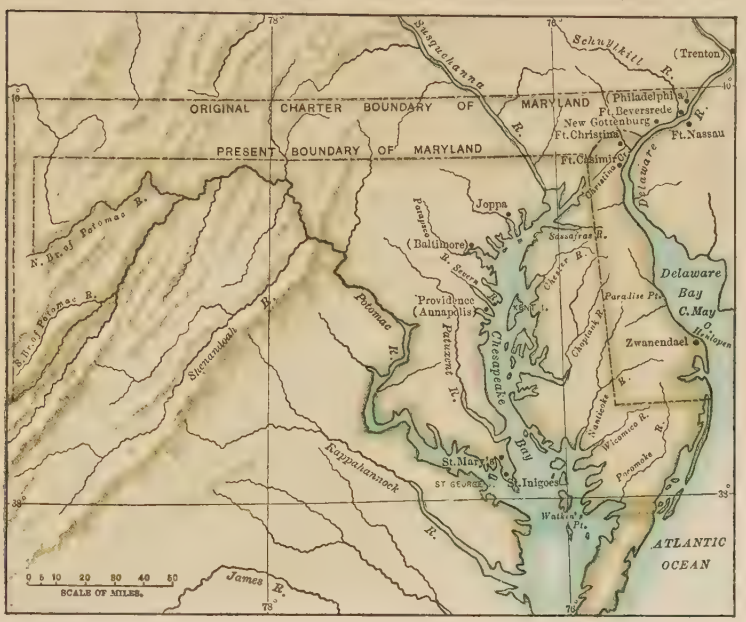
ron of Baltemore in the same Kingdome of Ireland, pursuing his Fathers intentions, being excited with a laudable and pious zeale for the propagation of the Christian Faith, and the enlargement of our Empire and Dominion, hath humbly besought leave of Vs, by his industry and charge, to transport an ample Colony of the English Nation unto a certaine Countrey hereafter described, in the parts of America, not yet cultivated and planted, though in some parts thereof inhabited by certaine barbarous people, having no knowledge of Almighty God, and hath humbly besought our Royall Majestie to give, grant, and confirme all the said Countrey, with certaine Priviledges and Iurisdictions, requisite for the good government, and state of his Colony, and Countrey aforesaid, to him and his heires for ever.

The bounds. KNOW YEE therefore, that Wee favouring the Pious, and Noble purpose of the said Barons of Baltemore, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, have given, granted, and confirmed, and by this our present Charter, for Vs, Our Heires, and Successors, doe give, grant and confirme unto the said Cecilius, now Baron of Baltemore, his heires and Assignes, all that part of a Penjnsula, lying in the parts of America, betweene the Ocean on the East, and the Bay of Chesopeack on the West, and divided from the other part thereof, by

The First Two Pages of the First Appearance in Print and in Translation of the Maryland Charter

ever been enjoyed by any bishop of Durham within his county palatine, "that independent, self-governing fief on the northern border of England which until 1536 remained outside the control of the kings of England and formed a petty state by itself." These powers undoubtedly exceeded any others conferred by the English crown upon any subject. While the charter thus created a hereditary, provincial, constitutional monarchy, with powers unprecedentedly great, the rights that it secured

1632



Map of Maryland

to the colonists were also unprecedentedly great. They and their children were to enjoy the rights and privileges of native-born Englishmen; no tax or custom was to be imposed upon them or their property by any British authority; the laws were to be made by the proprietary with the advice and assent — not of the king but of the freemen or their deputies.

Two Shadows

Whether the northern boundary of Virginia was drawn "west or northwest" from the point fixed by the charter of 1609, it would lie beyond the northern limit of the Maryland grant. But that charter had been revoked, the new charter described Maryland as *hactenus inculta*, i.e., hitherto uncultivated, and William Claiborne had secured a license to traffic in those parts and had occupied Kent Island, well up the Chesapeake. Claiborne, a resolute spirit, and *hactenus inculta*, an unfortunate phrase, joined hands and made trouble. In 1633, the privy council left the Virginia remonstrants to the course of law and Lord Baltimore to his proprietary rights.

1632

Catholic and Protestant

George Calvert was a Protestant when his Avalon patent was promised. When the Maryland charter was drawn up, he was a Roman Catholic and aimed at providing a place of refuge for his coreligionists. And yet, as to churches and religion, the language of the earlier patent was retained in the latter. Religious toleration was neither prescribed nor prohibited. Perhaps, through sympathy with his Catholic queen, King Charles connived with Lord Baltimore to the effect that Catholics and members of the Anglican church should enjoy the same religious rights in Maryland. Calvert had regal powers and could easily protect his Catholic settlers; public sentiment in England was strong enough to overturn the charter if Protestant settlers were ill-treated by Maryland Catholics. The lord proprietor had common sense and tact, and Maryland became "free soil for Christianity." The magnanimity of that course was not weakened by its worldly wisdom.

Cecilius Calvert

The Voyage

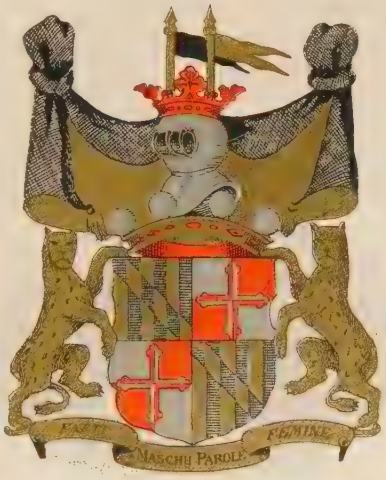
Lord Baltimore appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, commander of the expedition and governor of Maryland. Thomas Cornwallis was the most important member of the council. In October, 1633, the "Ark" of about three hundred and fifty tons, and the "Dove" of about fifty tons, sailed from Gravesend with George Calvert, a second brother of Lord Baltimore, and "very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and two or three hundred laboring men well provided in all things." At the Isle of Wight they received the Jesuit

Fathers, Andrew White and John Altham, and other emigrants. They finally set sail "under the protection of God, the Virgin Mary, Saint Ignatius and all the other guardian angels of Maryland." They took the old route by way of the West Indies and arrived at Point Comfort on the twenty-seventh of February, 1634. Here Governor Harvey received them "with much courtesy and humanity."

1633
1634
November 22

After a week's entertainment and with fresh supplies, the colonists sailed into the Potomac. They explored the river as far as the site of Mount Vernon, and finally entered the Saint Mary's, a broad and deep stream that empties into the Potomac a few miles above its mouth. On a beautiful bluff that overlooked this river, stood an Indian village. There Governor Calvert bought from the natives a tract of land thirty miles in extent, thus anticipating by fifty years the policy of William Penn. The bargain provided that the natives should share their village and growing crops with the strangers and depart from the place as soon as the harvest was ended. The first mass in English America was celebrated on the twenty-fifth of March, 1634, and two days later the colonists took possession of their new home which they dedicated to the "Blessed Virgin" and named Saint Mary's.

Saint Mary's

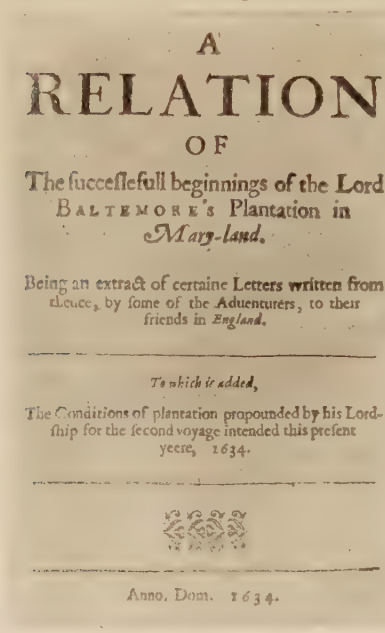


Arms of Cecilius Calvert

The newcomers honestly kept this friendly compact with their dusky neighbors. From Indian women English wives learned to make bread of maize; from Indian braves the white huntsman learned the mysteries of woodcraft. The land that the Indians had cleared was

A New Art

1634 promptly planted and, in the autumn, a cargo of corn was sent to New England to be traded off for fish. Cattle, swine, and poultry were obtained from the older plantations on the James and, in six months, Maryland had made greater progress than Virginia had done in as many years. Before the summer season had gone, the colonists were comfortably sheltered from the mild rigors of a Maryland winter. The lord proprietor provided liberally for the protection and prosperity of his palatinate. The English had learned the art of colonization.


A
RELATION
OF
The successfull beginnings of the Lord
BALTEMORE's Plantation in
Mary-land.

Being an extract of certaine Letters written from thence, by some of the Aduenturers, to their friends in England.

To which is added,

The Conditions of plantation propounded by his Lordship for the second voyage intended this present yeere, 1634.

Anno. Dom. 1634.

Title-page of Lord Baltimore's *Relation of Maryland*

Local Government

The governor of Maryland was chief minister of the lord proprietor, head of the civil administration, lord lieutenant and commander-in-chief of the militia. His council consisted solely of high officials; the first legislature consisted of the governor, the council, and such freemen as chose to be present. The records of this session have been lost but it is known that a code of laws was drawn up and sent to England for the assent of the lord proprietor. Lord Baltimore refused his assent on the ground that laws were to be made by him with the assent of the freemen and not by the freemen with his assent. The assembly insisted upon its right to the initiative and the proprietor yielded, reserving the dangerous prerogative of veto without limit of time. By 1638, this folkmote of the palatinate had grown to proportions that were clumsy and, in that year, proxies were

Saint Mary's, February, 1635

admitted. The change to the representative system was gradually accomplished as will appear more clearly further on. After 1650, the bicameral organization was complete, the council sitting as an upper house and the burgesses sitting separately as a lower house. 1634

Maryland Archives, I. 130, 272

It proved more easy to win the friendship of the Indians than to live in peace with English neighbors. The Virginians were angered by what seemed to them an interference with their rights and the bitterness of the Protestants at Jamestown bred resentment among the Catholics at Saint Mary's. When armed English neighbors thus stand glowering at each other, they seldom fail to find some pretext for a conflict. William Claiborne had prospered in a worldly way. In 1632, his plantation at Kent Island was represented in the Virginia house of burgesses. At Point Comfort, Governor Calvert had informed Claiborne that his settlers at Kent Island owed their allegiance to Maryland. The matter was brought to the notice of the Virginia council, which decided to support Claiborne and to maintain the rights of their colony. When some of the Patuxent Indians exhibited hostility, it was charged that Claiborne had reported that the Marylanders were not Englishmen but Spaniards. As in the Virginian vernacular of that day Catholic and Spaniard were substantially synonymous, it is probable that Secretary Claiborne was not personally responsible for the story. The reported intrigue with the Indians alarmed Lord Baltimore who sent word to his brother, the governor, to arrest Claiborne and to seize Kent Island.

Claiborne and Kent Island

William Claiborne

September

In the following April, one of Claiborne's pinnaces was seized for trafficking in Maryland waters without a Maryland license. Claiborne sent an armed vessel under command of Ratcliffe Warren to retake the captured

An Intercolonial Conflict

1635 "Long Tail," and the Virginians gave him such sympathy and support as to render his individual acts equivalent to those of the colony. Warren caught a Tartar in Thomas Cornwallis, who defeated him and captured his ship after a brisk fight in which several were killed. Doctor Frederick R. Jones has called this "the first naval battle upon the inland waters of America." The Maryland authorities promptly demanded the surrender of Claiborne for felony. Cornwallis's success and Calvert's demand were sparks in Virginian powder. Governor Harvey did not dare to make the called-for surrender, but he sent Claiborne to England to answer for his conduct. A public meeting was held at the house of the speaker of the Virginia assembly, which meeting resulted in the deposition of Governor Harvey and the election of John West to fill the vacancy thus made. Lord Baltimore maintained his territorial rights and, in January, 1638, Kent Island was represented in the Maryland assembly as it previously had been in the Virginia assembly. Claiborne was attainted for piracy and murder, and his Maryland estates were confiscated. Defeated at every point, he returned from England to Virginia to bide his time.

April 23

Land Grants

Lord Baltimore's "Conditions of Plantation," issued in 1636, granted a town lot at Saint Mary's and two thousand acres of land subject to a yearly rent of four hundred pounds of wheat to every adventurer who, in 1634, brought five men into the province; whoever brought fewer than five was to receive one hundred acres subject to a yearly rent of ten pounds of wheat for each fifty acres, and a like allowance for his wife and for each servant, and an additional fifty acres for each child. Less liberal grants were provided for those who came later. These lands constituted estates in fee simple. Each tract of a thousand acres or more constituted a manor, of which a large number was established. In some instances courts baron and leet were held. "The manor was the land on which the lord and his tenants lived, and bound up with the land were also the rights of government which the lord possessed over the tenants and they over one

Manors

Map of Maryland, from *A Relation of Maryland*

another." In 1641, it was enacted that a manor should be given to any settler who brought with him from England twenty able-bodied men each with sword, musket, and specified accoutrements, a prudent provision for the military defense of the province. But, as has often been pointed out, negro slavery offered greater profits to the manorial lord, put a stigma upon free labor, and gradually transformed the feudal society of the manor into the patriarchal society of the plantation. 1636

Aside from these features, the government was essentially democratic. The people were jealous of their liberties and began a constitutional struggle with the proprietary. Two years after Lord Baltimore's refusal of assent to the acts of the first legislative assembly, he sent a new commission and a new body of laws for submission to the freemen. The second assembly was convoked, rejected the proprietary's code, and asserted its own right to

The Initiative

January, 1638

1638 1639 original legislation. This assembly was wholly democratic. Writs were issued for the attendance of all freemen (i.e., all but indented servants), and those who could not attend gave proxies. The governor acted as speaker and his councilors sat as members. Upon the approval of the code, the speaker and the secretary, with their twelve proxies, counted fourteen votes in favor, while there were thirty-seven in the negative. It was then proposed "to agree upon some laws till they could hear from England again." The speaker decided that the house had no such power, in spite of which, the measures were enacted. Lord Baltimore made use of his veto but, in the following August, abandoned his claim to an exclusive initiative and gave his brother power to assent to laws which were then to have force until his own dissent should be signified.

Autograph of Lewger

March 24, 1638

The Declaration of Rights

The growth of the province now brought into action the representative idea as a partial substitute for the purely democratic assembly. The third provincial legislature, which met in February, 1639, contained a few delegates who had been elected for that purpose, and other persons who, not having voted for delegates, continued to exercise their individual rights as freemen of the palatinate. Some of the latter had been summoned by special writs from the governor. This body framed a declaration of rights that confirmed all the liberties of Englishmen at home to all the free Christian people of Maryland, and declared that "Holy Church within this province shall have all her rights and liberties." This had reference to the Roman Catholic church; from the beginning, religious toleration of all Christian creeds was proclaimed and practised. In the words of William T. Brantly, all churches were tolerated; none was established.

Ingle's Rebellion

By this time, the parliamentary power was looming large in England, and in the heavy tramp of Cromwell and his Ironsides the wise could trace the prelude of a Marston Moor. All the omens foreshadowed danger

for the proprietary rights of a Catholic who was loyal to his king, and so Governor Calvert delegated his authority to Giles Brent and hastened to England. In January, 1644, the armed vessel of one Richard Ingle, a known Puritan, arrived. With strange indiscretion, Brent seized the ship, charged Ingle with treason, and tried to force the crew to take an oath against parliament. Ingle escaped, received a parliamentary letter of marque, and soon appeared in the waters of the Chesapeake to cruise against the "malignants." Governor Calvert returned in the fall to find his colony weakened by dissension and threatened by the Indians. Governor Berkeley was in England and Richard Kemp was acting governor of Virginia. Claiborne's time had come and he promptly seized Kent Island. Ingle landed his men at Saint Mary's, raised the standard of parliament, and, with the aid of disaffected Protestants, took possession of the government of Maryland.

1644 1647

1644

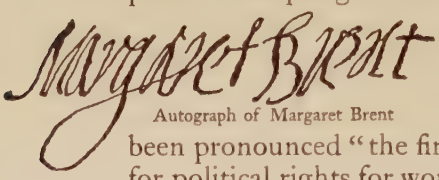
The joint invasion was successful, Calvert and his council fled for safety to Virginia, and Captain Edward Hill, a Virginian, was installed as governor of the palatinate. Father White and other Jesuit missionaries were sent back to England, state records were destroyed, and the great seal disappeared. The following two years were long remembered as the "plundering time." In 1646, Calvert gathered a small force of Virginians and Marylanders and hastened to Saint Mary's. Ingle went back to England and the people quickly returned to their allegiance. In April, 1647, Calvert in person effected the reduction of Kent Island. Claiborne was more quiet after this, but by 1652, his rights seem to have been recognized, for in a treaty that Maryland commissioners that year executed with the Indians there is a reference to lands, islands, etc., "excepting the Island of Kent and Palmer's Island which belong to Captain Claiborne." On the ninth of June, 1647, Governor Calvert died. Maryland suffered much from the want of such another governor.

The Plundering Time

Upon his death-bed, Governor Leonard Calvert named Thomas Green, a Catholic, as his successor. He also appointed as his administratrix Mistress Margaret Brent,

Margaret Brent

1647 1649 a maiden sister of Giles Brent, the acting governor who seized Ingle's ship. Governor Green proclaimed a general pardon excepting therefrom "Richard Ingle, mariner." Mistress Brent made application for a vote in the assembly for herself and another as Lord Baltimore's attorney; her request has been pronounced "the first recorded instance of a demand for political rights for women." As the representatives had not been prepared for such radical action, she, with masculine energy, made protest against the proceedings of the house.


Autograph of Margaret Brent

Governor Stone

By this time, the English "Roundheads" were triumphant and serious danger threatened the Catholic palatinate. Lord Baltimore prudently removed Governor Green and appointed as his successor William Stone, a Virginian and a zealous parliamentary Protestant. He also appointed a Protestant secretary and new councilors a majority of whom were Protestants. Each of these was required to swear that he would not "trouble, molest, or discountenance any person whatsoever in the said province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ; and in particular, no Roman Catholic, for or in respect of his or her religion." The oath is still preserved in the archives of Maryland. About this time, the proprietor sent out "a commission for the great seal" as the former great seal of the province had been carried off in Ingle's rebellion, in 1644, and not recovered.

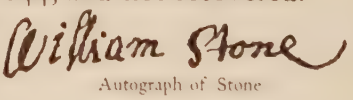
August 6, 1648

Autograph of Green

Seal of Maryland, 1649

The Toleration Act

Governor Stone and his council began their official duties in 1649, and, in April of that year, the assembly met. It was composed of the governor, his councilors, and nine burgesses, sixteen in all, a majority being Catholics. Its first law was the famous act concerning religion that confirmed by statute the toleration that had been enjoyed since the beginning of the province. It was drawn up by Lord Baltimore and


Autograph of Stone

April 21, 1649

passed the assembly without amendment. One of its provisions was that no person "professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall, from henceforth, be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for, or in respect of, his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof within this province." Thus for the first time in the history of the world did a legally constituted legislature enact religious liberty — for Christians. 1649

Liberal Statesmanship

This "toleration act" provided that any person who cursed God, or denied Jesus Christ to be the son of God, or denied the Godhead of any one of the Holy Trinity, should be punished with death and confiscation of lands and goods. In spite of this discrimination against Unitarians and non-Christians, the act was so liberal for that day that, in our day, it is difficult to appreciate it fairly. Let every American Catholic rejoice at what his brethren then did. If any Protestant would carp because there were mists and exhalations that obscured what Bancroft has called the morning star of religious freedom, let him remember that within the preceding year a Puritan parliament in England had passed an ordinance imposing death as the penalty for "maintaining with obstinacy" any one of eight enumerated heresies. In Maryland, the promised toleration was everywhere continued and the prescribed penalties were never inflicted. The new governor was authorized to assent to new laws as his predecessors had been, but he could not assent to the repeal of any law concerning matters of religion without the special sanction of the proprietary. Thus did Cecilius Calvert lay on the table any possible motion to reconsider. It was his intent to place religious freedom beyond the reach of mutilation.

Puritan Refugees

We have seen that Berkeley and the burgesses had banished from the Old Dominion more than a hundred Puritans; after his return from England, Sir William was more oppressive than before. Governor Stone made the oppressed Virginians understand that they would be hospitably received in the palatinate. It is estimated that in 1649 as many as a thousand Puritans left Virginia and settled Providence where Annapolis now stands. The

A LAW
OF
MARYLAND
Concerning
RELIGION.

FOrasmuch as in a well governed and Christian Commonwealth, Matters concerning Religion and the Honour of God ought to be in the first place to be taken into serious consideration, and endeavoured to be settled: Be it therefore Ordained and Enacted by the Right Honourable *CAECILIUS* Lord Baron of *Baltemore*, absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province, with the Advice and Consent of the Upper and Lowe House of this General Assembly, That whosoever shall or per[illegible] within this Province and the limits thereof [illegible] from henceforth blaspheme GOD, that is curse him; or shall deny our Saviour JESUS CHRIST [illegible] the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, & Holy Ghost, or the Godhead, any of the said Three Persons [illegible] or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches, words, or language, concerning the Holy Trinity, or any of the said three Persons [illegible] nished with death, and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her Lands and Goods to the Lord Proprietary and his Heirs.

And be it also enacted by the Authority, and with the advice and assent aforesaid, That whatsoever person or persons [illegible] any reproachful words or speeches concerning the blessed Virgin *MARY*, the Mother of our Saviour, or the Holy Apostles or Evangelists, or any of them, shall in such case for the first Offence forfeit to the said Lord Proprietary, and his Heirs, Lords and Proprietaries of this Province, Ten Pounds Sterling, or the value thereof to be levied on the goods and chattels of every such person so offending; but in case such offender or offenders shall not then have goods and chattels sufficient to satisfy such forfeiture, that then the time be not otherwise specially limited, that then such offenders shall be publickly whipt, and be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary, or the Lieutenant [illegible] time being: And that every such offender and offenders for ever, for second offence shall forfeit Ten Pounds Sterling, [illegible] said, or in case such offender or offenders shall not then have goods and chattels within this Province sufficient for that purpose, then to be publickly and severely whipt and imprisoned as before is expressed: and that every person or persons before mentioned, offending herein the third time, shall for such third offence forfeit all his lands and goods, and be ever banisht and expelled out of this Province.

And be it also further Enacted by the same Authority, advice, and assent, That whatsoever person or persons [illegible] offence, or otherwise in a reproachful manner or way, shall curse [illegible] any part of the Holy Trinity, or shall use any reproachful speeches, words, or language, concerning within this Province or within any the Ports, Harbours, Creeks, or Havens belonging to the same, shall be punished, that is to say, every Presbyterian, Independant, Anabaptist, Brownist, Jesuit, Delinquent Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anti-Trinitarian, Prophane person, or person of any other name or term in a reproachful manner relating to matter of Religion shall for every such offence forfeit and pay the value thereof, to be levied of the goods and chattels of every such offender and offenders, the one half thereof to be forfeited and [illegible] present with such reproachful words, or shall be spoken or uttered, [illegible] Proprietary of this Province, [illegible] such person or persons shall speak any such reproachful [illegible] or chattels sufficient within this Province to satisfy such forfeiture, that then such person or persons so offending shall be imprisoned, [illegible] the person and persons so offending shall be publickly whipt, [illegible] Mayor, [illegible] shall satisfie the party offended or grieved by such reproachfull Language, by asking him or her respectively forgiveness publickly, for such his offence, [illegible] the Magistrate [illegible] Officers of the Town [illegible] Province [illegible]

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every person and persons within this Province [illegible] blasphemed, shall be stoned to death, or shall be under pain of death, or else be sunken in the earth, or any other [illegible] shall be [illegible] when [illegible] shall forfeit two thirds, six pence Sterling, or the value thereof, and for the second offence five shillings Sterling, or the value thereof, and for the third offence, and for every time he shall offend [illegible] Sterling, or the value thereof, and in default of such forfeiture shall be sent to the House of Correction, [illegible] the offender shall be punished by being whipt, [illegible] the Sabbath or Lord's day called Sunday, or shall be [illegible] offending shall be [illegible] Magistrate of that County, Town, or Place in which such offence shall be committed, acknowledge the [illegible] against God, and the good and civil Government of this Province, and for the third offence shall be [illegible]

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That [illegible] Province, [illegible] where it hath been [illegible] Inhabitants here, be at the sole and absolute disposing of the Lord Proprietary of this Province, [illegible] to be declared and settled that no person or persons whatsoever within this Province, that shall profess to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be molested, or [illegible] Hurt, or Damage, or troubled for his or her Religion, or in the free exercise thereof within this Province, or any part thereof, nor in any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent, so that they be not unquiet nor disturbe the Peace, or Proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil Government established in this Province, under him and his Heirs. And that all and every person and persons that do or shall profess to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be free from any molestation or question for their religious persuasion or exercise thereof within this Province, they or any of them behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using their liberty to disturb others in their religious worship and service, or shall endeavour to withdraw any person from the religion established, or shall use reproachful words or speeches concerning the Holy Trinity, or any of the persons thereof, as aforesaid, shall be punished according to the nature and quality of the offence, as aforesaid, resorting to the party so offending. [illegible] Province, or other place, after such sentence made and [illegible]

FACSIMILE OF A BROADSIDE COPY OF THE TOLERATION ACT OF 1649

next assembly erected the settlement into a county and, 1649
in honor of Lord Baltimore's late wife, called it Anne 1650
Arundel. These intolerant refugees from Virginian intolerance, as Mr. Brantly has properly called them, objected to the oath of fidelity to the lord proprietary as against their consciences because it bound them to obey a government that countenanced the Roman Catholic religion, but they sent two burgesses to the assembly of 1650. At this session, the assembly was divided into two houses, as previously mentioned. The upper house consisted of the governor, secretary, and council; the lower, of the burgesses. This constitution of the legislature continued until 1776. This assembly, with a Protestant majority, enacted "A memorial to all posterities" in acknowledgment of gratitude to the "true and absolute Lord and Proprietary of this province," and valorously promised to maintain his rights till "the last drop of our blood be spent." They also adopted a new form of oath of fidelity which "afforded ample opportunity for mental reservation."

Diplomacy

Lord Baltimore was trimming his sails with masterly art to catch whatever breeze might come. Charles I. had already lost his head and Charles II. now lost his temper. The royal exile deposed the diplomatic proprietary and named Sir William Davenant royal governor of Maryland. But "Governor" Davenant was captured in the English Channel and sent to London Tower. The young king soon discovered that he had made a mistake. Thus while the Virginians took advantage of the English revolution to advance their liberties, Maryland was suffering from doubts whether the mimic monarchy of Lord Baltimore would survive the general wrack or be engulfed in the great disaster of the English crown. The sovereignty of Maryland and her dowry of "beauty and extraordinary goodness" were the stakes for which four played; Governor Stone for the lord proprietor; "Governor" Davenant for Charles II.; Claiborne for Virginia and himself; and the commissioners for parliament.

The avowed loyalty of Virginia to Charles II. could not be overlooked by the regnant power in England.

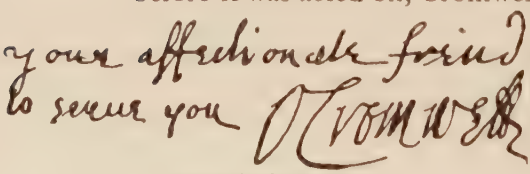
1650 Although in 1649, during an absence of Governor Stone,
1652 the deputy-governor had proclaimed Charles II. as king
Parliamentary Commissioners in Maryland of England, parliament did not include Maryland in the ordinance of 1650 for the reduction of the rebellious colonies. In 1651, when instructions to the commissioners were prepared, the name of Maryland was twice written in and, through the proprietary's watchful influence, twice erased. But in the final draft of 1652 appeared the ominous words, "all the plantations within the Bay of the Chesapeake." After their quick adjustment of Virginia's affairs, the commissioners turned their attention to Maryland. At Saint Mary's they demanded that all writs should issue in name of the keepers of the liberties of England and that the people should subscribe to "the engagement," as the oath of allegiance to parliament was called. Governor Stone and the council assented to the latter demand but refused the former "as they could not do it without breach of their trust and oath" to the proprietary. Thereupon the commissioners declared the Baltimorean government null and void and appointed a council of six in place thereof. Stone preferred bending to being broken and was soon restored to his office.

March 12, 1652

June 28, 1652

The Palatinate in Danger

Both of the colonies "within the Bay of the Chesapeake" were now under the authority of the parliamentary commissioners. When parliament received Virginia's petition for the restoration of her original limits and referred it to a committee, Lord Baltimore realized the great danger of losing his province. The committee made an elaborate report, largely adverse to the proprietary's interests, but before it was acted on, Cromwell had entered the house of commons and made his famous declaration, "You are no longer a parliament." With England's energies absorbed by the Dutch war, Lord Baltimore thought this to be a favorable moment for the reassertion of his rights. By his order, Governor Stone made proclamation requiring an oath of allegiance to the proprietary and, soon



Autograph of Cromwell

February, 1654

after, ordered all writs issued in the name of Lord Baltimore. The Puritans at Providence complained to the parliamentary commissioners that the required oath was "a very real grievance and oppression." 1654 1655

Although Stone had proclaimed the protector in May, Bennet and Claiborne, acting under their own authority, invaded Maryland in July and deposed the governor. In August, they placed the government of the Catholic palatinate in the hands of Captain William Fuller and a Puritan council. An election for burgesses was ordered and Roman Catholics were barred both from office and the ballot. This assembly convened at the house of Mr. Preston on the Patuxent and thither bore the state archives from Saint Mary's. It denied the authority of Lord Baltimore, declared that liberty of religion could not there be made to cover "popery, prelacy, or licentiousness of opinion," and thus justified the reminder of Mr. Brantly that "ingratitude to benefactors is the first of revolutionary virtues."

Grand Larceny

October, 1654

Early in 1655, Stone surprised the Preston arsenal, recaptured the provincial records, seized arms and ammunition, and sailed from Saint Mary's to secure the surrender of the stronghold at Providence. The Puritans pressed into their service the "Golden Lion," a large, armed merchant ship, and sent a few shot among the boats of the advancing fleet. Stone landed an army of one hundred and thirty and marched his men beyond the fury of the "Golden Lion." They soon met Captain Fuller and a superior force of Puritans from Providence. The enemy was in front, the "Golden Lion" was behind. It was a clear case of fight or surrender. To the battle-cry of "Hey for Saint Mary's!" the Puritans gave answer, "In the name of God, fall on!" The fight was too fierce to be long continued and the Catholics gave way. Fifty were killed or wounded, a few made their escape, and the rest, including Stone, were taken prisoners. Two of the Puritans were killed on the field and two more died from their wounds. Governor Stone and nine others were tried by a drum-head court martial and sentenced to death. Stone's life was spared but four were executed. Cromwell

The Battle of the Severn

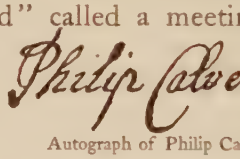
March 25, 1655

1655 1657 had directed Governor Bennet "to forbear," but before the receipt of the order the Catholics were defeated at the Severn and the Puritan government of Maryland was established.

Governor Fendall

In spite of this military success, the government of Maryland was a matter of dispute. In 1656, the commissioners for trade reported to Cromwell in favor of Lord Baltimore. Baltimore had appointed Josias Fendall, an ex-insurgent, to be governor of the province and now, without waiting for the confirmation of the favorable report, he resolved upon another effort to regain the control of his colony. In the latter part of the year, he sent his half-brother, Philip Calvert, as a member of the council and secretary of the province, and made provision for the widows of those who had lost their lives in support of his rights. At the same time, the "commissioners of Maryland" called a meeting of the Protestant assembly, ordered Fendall's arrest as a disturber of the peace, and went through all the forms of governing the colony in the name of the lord protector. The Puritans recognized one government; the Catholics obeyed the other.

Autograph of Fendall


Autograph of Philip Calvert

Baltimore's Magnanimity

Meanwhile Cromwell was begged to declare his will, but because of his great affairs the report of the commissioners for trade was not considered and the struggle was kept alive. The disaffected Puritans began to see that Cromwell regnant was very different from Cromwell militant and much more tolerant. An agreement made in England provided for the submission of the Puritans and the surrender of the records and the great seal to the proprietary. The lately intolerant Puritans now desired toleration and Baltimore promised that he would condone past offenses and not give his assent to the repeal of the Maryland law "whereby all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ have freedom of conscience."

November, 1657

Fendall's Treason

Fendall, who had gone to England, at once returned to Maryland with a copy of the contract. The representa-

tives of the two factions met in March, 1658, and, on the twenty-fourth, the agreement was signed. Virginia ceased her interference in Maryland affairs and the relations of the colonies became cordial. Unfortunately, fraternity between the Maryland factions did not go hand in hand with intercolonial amity, and taxation quarrels grew rank on the ruins of the late religious feuds. In the nine months' chaos before Charles II. entered London, the Maryland assembly met. On the twelfth of March, 1660, the burgesses went in a body to the upper house, the proprietary portion of the assembly, and declared that they would not permit the latter to continue its sittings. After Fendall had dissolved the upper house, of which he was presiding officer, he surrendered the powers he had received from the proprietary and accepted a new commission from the burgesses. This was revolution. In the same year, Governor Berkeley accepted office at the hands of the Virginia assembly, as narrated in the preceding chapter. The character of Fendall's conduct has been variously estimated.

1657
1660

Peace and Prosperity

The coup d'état in Maryland took place in March, Charles II. entered London in May, and Lord Baltimore heard of Fendall's act in June. The leaders of the Maryland insurrection were arrested and their government quickly went to pieces. Philip Calvert was appointed governor by his brother and assumed control of the province without difficulty in December. The new king actively upheld the authority of the proprietor and Lord Baltimore proclaimed a general amnesty, excepting "that perfidious and perjured fellow, Fendall, whom we lately intrusted to be our lieutenant of Maryland." This was the end of the Fendall episode. By consummate tact, Lord Baltimore had secured successively the support of a king, a lord protector, and another king, and saved his province. Maryland had now a population of twelve thousand. William Claiborne, the evil genius of the palatinate, disappeared from its history and tranquillity brooded upon the towns and feudal manors of Terra Mariæ.

CHAPTER XI

NEW NETHERLAND

1628

Prejudice and History

IN our study of the history of New Netherland it is important to keep in mind the fact that modern research has not yet wholly clarified much that was miswritten in an uncritical age, or wholly dispelled the unfortunate illusions and unjust estimates that are directly traceable to Irving's exuberant humor. Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer has done a real service to history by calling the attention of the general reader to the facts that, owing partly to the strangeness of the official language of New Netherland, to the secretive policy of the corporation that owned it, and to the loss of valuable early records, it came to pass that until about the middle of the nineteenth century English-writing historians depended chiefly upon New England chronicles, and that as "the self-approving spirit of the New Englander did not fit him to judge impartially of any one else," and least of all of the New Netherlander for whom he had a special feeling of antagonism, it was a natural result that the information drawn thence was likely to be inadequate and misleading.

Colonists Needed

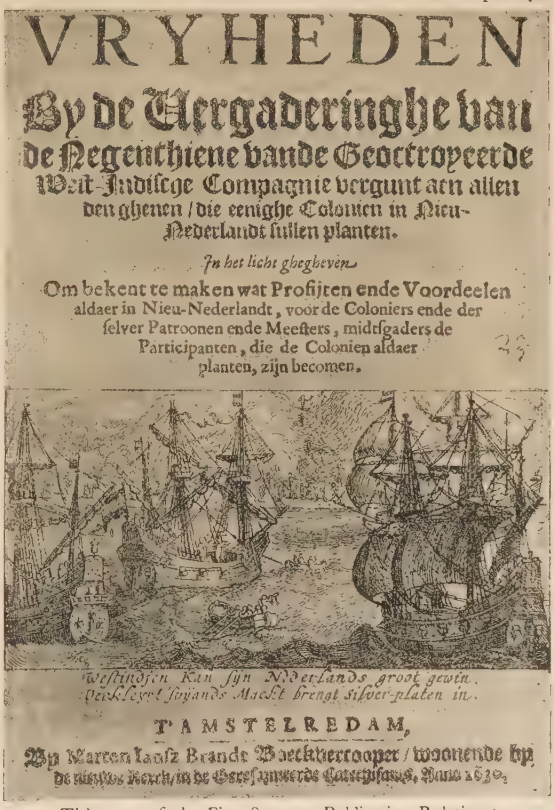
In 1628, the Dutch in charge of Peter Minuit at New Amsterdam numbered two hundred and seventy. The charter requirement "to advance the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts" had been feebly met and ill-chosen means were now adopted. The feudal system, born in the chaos occasioned by the general wreck of nations, was dying of old age when a great Netherland

monopoly sought to increase its own prosperity by transplanting the decaying fungus from the Old World to the fresh soil of the New. It simply introduced the germs of a weakening disease that made its colony an easy prey to the attack that came in 1664. 1629

In 1629, the board of nineteen, which exercised general executive power for the Dutch West India company, granted a "Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions" that provided for large manorial estates each with its feudal lord or patroon. Any member of the company who at his own expense and within four years would plant a colony of fifty emigrants might take possession of a territory extending sixteen miles along either bank of any navigable stream (or eight miles if both banks were occupied) and reaching indefinitely inland. The soil was to be purchased of the Indians. In such a realm, the patroon had absolute ownership and rule; he was a true feudal baron, lord "of people as well as of lands." The island

Patroons

June 7–17

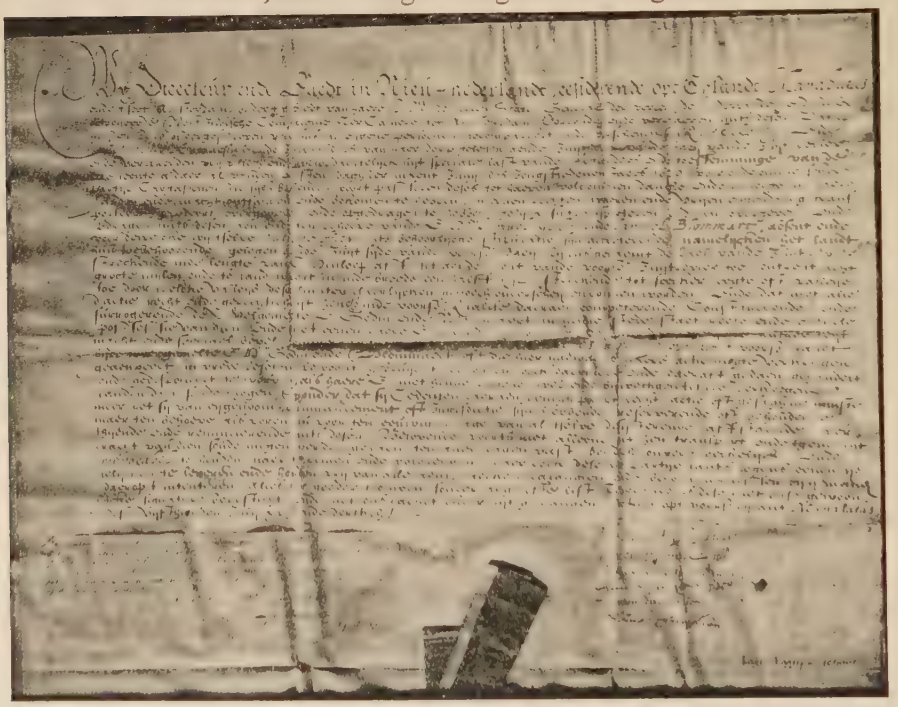

VRYHEDEN
By de Vergaderinghe van de Negenthiene vande Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie vergunt aen allen den ghenen / die eenighe Colonien in Nieu-Nederlandt sullen planten.
In het licht ghegheven
Om bekent te maken wat Profijten ende Voordeelen aldaer in Nieu-Nederlandt, voor de Coloniers ende der selver Patroonen ende Meesters, midtsgaders de Participanten, die de Colonien aldaer planten, zijn becomen.
Westindien Kan syn Nederlands groot gewin. Verkleynt Svyands Macht brengt silver-platen in.
T'AMSTELREDAM,
By Marten Iansz Brandt Boeckvercooper / woonende by de nieuwe Kerck / in de Geresamwerde Catechismus, Anno 1630.

Title-page of the First Separate Publication Relating to New Netherland

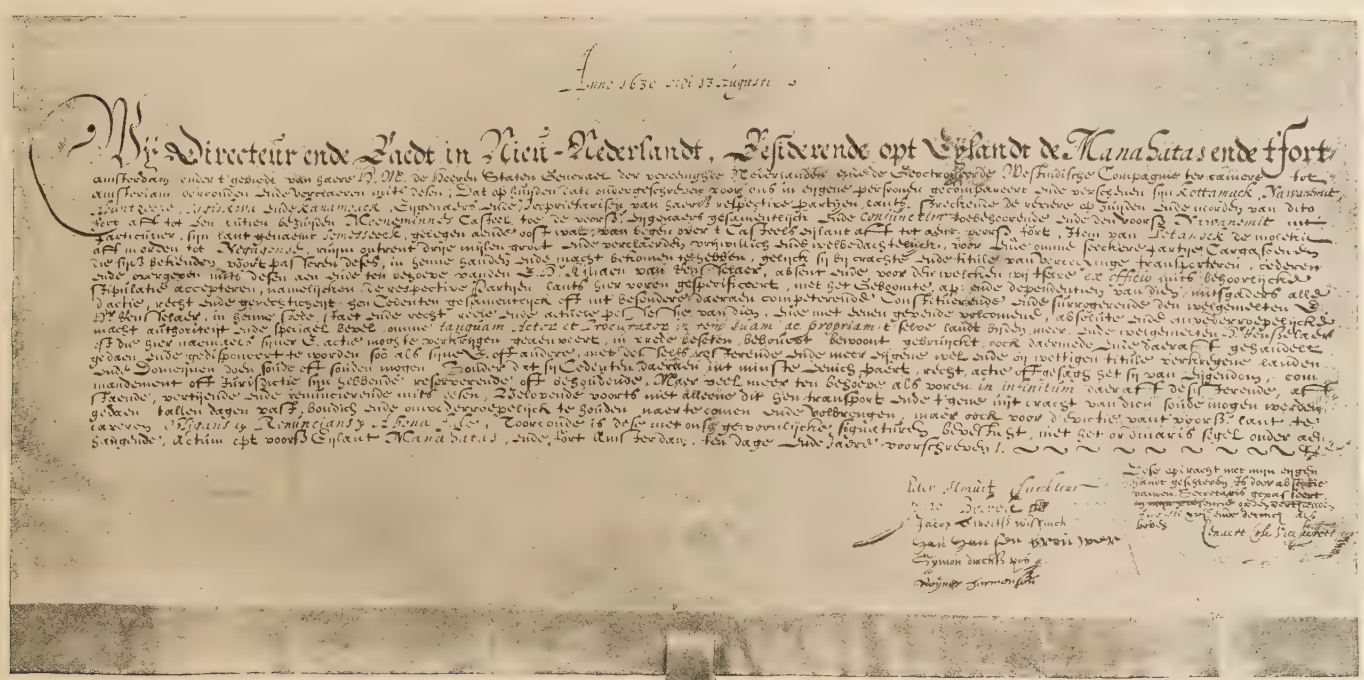
1629 of Manhattan was reserved to the company which was thus seeking to settle its territory without the cost and care of emigration or of government. The patroons would furnish funds and do the work, while the company absorbed the profits and increased in opulence and power. The charter was approved by the states-general and printed copies of it were distributed in all the towns and cities of the Netherlands. The directors of the company immediately took possession of the most valuable lands; the common stockholders were left to gnash their teeth in impotent rage.

Manorial Estates

As soon as the charter became a law, Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, two of the directors, announced that they had bargained with the Indians for an estate extending from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of the Delaware, about eight leagues in length and "half a



The Godyn and Blommaert Patent



THE VAN RENSSELAER DEED OF 1630

De Laet's Map from *Nieuwe Wereldt*, Leyden, 1630

1630 league in breadth, into the interior," and had given notice of the same to Governor Minuit at Manhattan. In like manner, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer secured an immense estate in the region of Albany, extending twenty-four miles on each side of the Hudson and reaching forty-eight miles into the interior. Michael Pauw bought Staten Island (so named in honor of the staaten or states-general) and a large territory on the mainland where Jersey City and Hoboken now stand. The manor up the Hudson was called Rensselaerswyck; that across the river from Manhattan took the latinized form of Pauw's name, Pavonia. Not all of the breathless thousands who daily cross the Pavonia Ferry know the story of Patroon Pauw. Other estates were similarly bought and occupied. The acknowledgments of these transactions before Minuit and

the council of the colony bear dates from April, 1630, to July, 1631, and are the earliest that are extant in the original now in possession of the state of New York. 1630 1631

In their dealings with the Indians, the patroons purchased what they wanted and did so on terms that were fair and acceptable to the seller. This just policy was good seed; the harvest was enjoyed by both the Dutch and their English neighbors and successors. These Indians were the Iroquois or the Five Nations, including the Cayugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Senecas, to whom the Tuscaroras were subsequently added; they occupied the greater part of what is now the state of New York. A Wise Indian Policy

> Amid the forest where they roam'd,
> There rings no hunter's shout;
> But their name is on your waters,
> Ye may not wash it out.

These Romans of the Western World held the key to the continent and virtually dominated all the tribes from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the great lakes to the Savannah River.

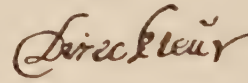
As some of the patroons took possession of more land than even the liberal charter authorized, the admission of partners into the proprietorships was demanded and granted. For instance, Van Rensselaer received Godyn and Blommaert into partnership and they received him into partnership, thus shifting their wealth from one pocket to another. In 1630, thirty men, several of whom had families, settled in Rensselaerswyck, the manor surrounding Fort Orange (Albany). Early in 1631, Godyn and Blommaert and their new partners, among whom was Captain David Pietersen de Vries, settled thirty colonists on Lewes Creek just within Cape Henlopen and near the site of Lewiston. This first settlement in Delaware, older than any in Pennsylvania, was called Zwanendael (the Valley of Swans). In 1632, Captain De Vries led out a second expedition but found that Zwanendael had been destroyed by the Indians and that all of the thirty had been killed. The proprietors had a project for taking whales, but whales were few on the The Evasion of Capital Zwanendael

1632 Delaware shoals. Little if any corn had been planted and a prospect of famine's horrors was added to the grewsome picture of charred timbers and bleaching skeletons. Resolved to return to Holland, De Vries and his colonists left the region of the Dutch South River (the Delaware) without attempting to make another settlement therein, the inglorious end of the first of the patroonships. The land was restored to the company, but, before the country could be reoccupied, the patent of Lord Baltimore brought an English competitor into the field.

David Pietersen de Vries

Van Twiller

The powerful patroons encroached upon the fur trade and the West India company saw too late the folly of which it had been guilty. Director-general Minuit was recalled and, when Captain De Vries arrived from the ruins of Zwanendael, he found New Amsterdam in charge of Wouter Van Twiller, now one of Irving's immortals. De Vries thought that the new director was "an unfit person," transferred from an Amsterdam clerkship to a New Netherland governorship "to perform a comedy," but this estimate was of less importance than the fact that Director Van Twiller and Patroon Van Rensselaer were closely connected by marriage. Hardly had the new director assumed the duties of his office when, according to De Vries, an English ship attempted to sail up the Hudson to trade for furs. The Dutch governor ran up

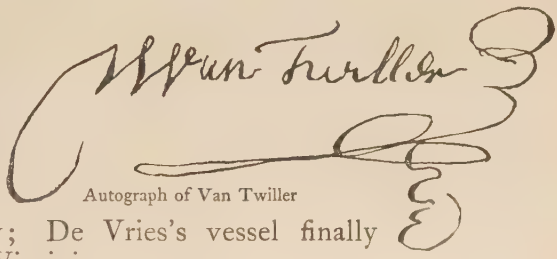


Autograph of Minuit

the flag of the fort and fired three guns. The English captain unfurled the English flag, gave it a similar salute —and sailed right on. Furious at this defiance, Van Twiller valiantly set forth a barrel of wine and, between copious bumpers, this gubernatorial proclamation gurgled forth: "Those who love the Prince of Orange and me, emulate me in this and assist me in repelling the violence committed by that Englishman!" Before the "emulation" was finished, "that Englishman" had sailed out of sight. Evidently, De Vries had no good will for the Dutch director and Irving's Diedrich Knickerbocker was less veracious than delightful. 1633 1637

Foreign Relations

In 1633, Van Twiller bought Connecticut lands from the Indians, built Fort Good Hope near the site of Hartford, and thus began another quarrel with the English. The New Englanders returned the compliment by making plantations on Long Island and Governor West sent a force to seek, in trade on the Delaware, compensation for Virginian losses on the Chesapeake. Van Twiller promptly captured Claiborne's friends and triumphantly carried them to Manhattan in captivity; De Vries's vessel finally returned the Virginians to Virginia.



Autograph of Van Twiller

Exit Van Twiller

At this time New Amsterdam was little more than a trading-post although there were three windmills and a few brick houses. The Indians made trouble for Patroon Pauw and his venture did not pay. In 1637, the company bought back his grant for twenty-six thousand guilders, much as it previously had bought Zwanendael, but Patroon Van Rensselaer kept on adding to his large estates. Van Twiller built a fort on the Schuylkill in Pennsylvania, put new life into the feeble settlements on the Delaware, and, still suffering from his chronic land-hunger, secured for himself and his companions the most fertile fields in the vicinity of Manhattan Island. It is possible that Irving's humor has somewhat obscured Van Twiller's

New Amsterdam about 1630–35

merits; that in spite of Dutch and English rivalry, senti- 1637
ment and policy forbade the Dutch and English to quar- 1638
rel; and that the refusal of the states-general to grant permission to fire on English ships and forts left the Dutch governor in a continual dilemma. But John Fiske, Wouter's charming apologist, admits that "no literary legerdemain can ever make him a hero." The director had made many enemies. Captain De Vries seldom missed an opportunity to denounce him, Dominie Bogardus called him "the child of the devil," and Van Dincklagen, the schout fiscal whom Van Twiller dismissed without payment of the three years' salary due, was thereby driven into more active opposition. In 1637, these enemies drove him from the annoyances of official life to retirement amid the comforts of his uncle-in-law's patroonship.

Kieft

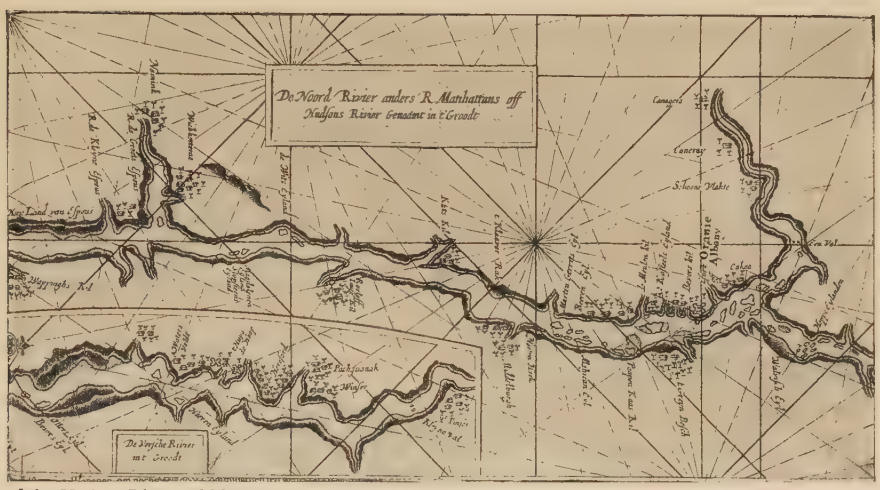
The next director-general of New Netherland was William Kieft. His portrait had been hanged on the gallows at Rochelle and he had been charged with the embezzlement of money contributed for the ransom of prisoners held in Turkish bondage. The states-general voted his commission and Kieft took the oath of office on the second of September, 1637. His administration, which began in March, 1638, has been called "absurd and devoid of common sense" and historians have written frankly of his tyranny and folly. But, from end to end, Dutch rule in New Netherland was despotic, and De Vries and Bogardus, our chief "sources" for the history of these administrations, liked Kieft less than they had liked Van Twiller. Entering upon his task with vigor, Kieft promptly organized a council consisting of the governor and one other member. In this body, each councilor had a vote; the governor had two. Successive manifestoes confined authority to a few who revolved around Kieft as their official source of life and light. Fortunately for New Netherland, other influences were at work.

A New Policy

Official investigation had shown that the colony was decaying; even the population was becoming less. The most fertile lands having been seized, there was little inducement for actual settlers to emigrate thither. In

The First Published Map

1638 the fall of 1638, the West India company proclaimed its intention "to accommodate every one according to his condition and means with as much land as he, by him and his family, can properly cultivate." This infused new blood into the wasting body. The shifting population became fixed and new colonies came "to escape the insupportable government of New England." English servants who had wrought their time in Virginia and Maryland and peasant farmers from continental Europe sought homes of their own on the banks of the Hudson. Men of wealth and education traveling for pleasure or profit sent for their families or fetched them. New Amsterdam continued cosmopolitan in character and Manhattan began her growth and material prosperity. In 1639, there were thirty thrifty bouweries (farms) on the island instead of the few slipshod institutions of the previous year, and applications for land grants had been made for a hundred more. In 1643, Father Jogues, a Jesuit missionary to the Indians, a hero of whom we shall hear more in a later chapter, visited Manhattan and reported that, among the four hundred men there, eighteen languages were spoken. The active agents of the successful patroon drew many through the river's mouth to



of the Hudson River, 1666

the fertile fields of Rensselaerswyck, and the newly purchased lands of Queens and Westchester counties began to fill with a prosperous people. 1638 1640

The Incursion of the Swedes

In December, 1637, Peter Minuit, soured in his disposition toward the Dutch, sailed with a Swedish colony and, in March, 1638, ascended the Delaware to the falls at Trenton. On the site of Wilmington, he built a trading-post and called it Fort Christina, in honor of the Swedish infant queen. The name has been corrupted into Christiana. The Dutch endured the intrusion on account of the "laxity and corruption on the part of the Dutch local director." The fortunes of this Swedish settlement in foreign parts, the only colony ever planted by that nation, will be traced in another chapter.

The Invasion of the English

The next invasion of the Dutch territory was made by Englishmen who crossed from Connecticut to the east end of Long Island. In 1635, the council for New England had granted the island to the earl of Stirling, and the earl's agents issued patents under authority of which English colonists, in 1640, invaded the island and settled in what is now Suffolk County. When Director Kieft and his council heard that these "interlopers or vagabonds" had "begun there to build houses, cut down trees, and to per-

1640 form other work, and that said vagabonds have cut down the arms of Their High Mightinesses there" and carved "a Fool's head" in the place thereof, they sent Secretary Tienhoven with twenty-five soldiers to "oblige them to come hither to vindicate themselves." Tienhoven returned with six English prisoners. Upon their giving written promise to depart from New Netherland, the six were set free. But the English had come to stay. They disregarded Dutch proclamations and resisted all efforts to drive them off. These encroachments called for rare administrative ability and diplomatic tact on the part of the Dutch director. The call was in vain.

May 13

Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling

Indian Troubles

In 1640, the West India company established a second class of patroons, with restrictions to one mile of water front, increased the inducements to other colonists, and gave the first promise of local political privileges. The newcomers generally preferred the company to a manorial proprietor. In disregard of the early Indian policy of the Dutch, freedom of trade brought fraud to the frontier and love of gain buried prudence. When the Indians struck an avenging blow, the director's determination "to make these savages wipe their chops" brought

the horrors of Indian war. The red men recognized the advantages that would come with firearms and the white traders on the Hudson wanted the increased supply of peltries and the direct profits to be secured by the sale of guns and ammunition at enormous prices. When, by such means, the Mohawks had well armed four hundred men, and the other tribes were roused to enmity against the Dutch, Kieft thought it opportune to exact tribute from them. In 1641, the New Jersey Indians destroyed De Vries's settlement on Staten Island and Kieft, in

1641

1640

New-York, vers 1640.

Earliest Plan of New Amsterdam, 1640

retaliation, outlawed the Raritans and offered a bounty for the head of any member of the tribe. In the ensuing winter, another Indian, maddened by the strong drink of the Dutch, murdered a settler. A deputation of chieftains hastened to express their sorrow and to give the following lesson: "You yourselves are the cause of this evil; you ought not to craze the young Indians with brandy. Your own people, when drunk, fight with knives and do foolish things; you cannot prevent mischief till you cease to sell strong drink to the Indian."

1641
1643

The Twelve Men

The smell of blood caused the "fussy, self-opinionated, little potentate" to blossom into badness. Kieft raged and called for bloody punishment. A public meeting of the solemn burghers chose "Twelve Select Men" as advisers to the governor, the first representative assembly of New Amsterdam. The twelve chose as their president Kieft's personal enemy, Captain De Vries, who was now a resident of New Netherland and, with grim humor, made report that since the "honorable director is the ruler as well as the commander of the soldiery" the people ought "to follow his steps and obey his orders," and further "to prevent confusion," that he ought "to lead the van." The director thanked the twelve wise men for their advice. As has been explained, the council was a simple arrangement by which the omnipotence of the governor was made sure. The "Twelve Men" now demanded that the council should consist of not fewer than five men, of whom four should be chosen by the people. Kieft then did what Fiske says that Charles I. of England would have done under like circumstances. He promised to grant the demands, dissolved the little parliament, forgot his promise, and forbade any more popular assemblies.

Dutch Aggression

In February, 1643, Mohawks armed with guns made in Holland attacked the Indians near Manhattan. The Algonkins begged assistance of the Dutch and many of them sought among the whites a refuge from their dreaded enemies. Kieft accepted the suggestion of a sudden and merciless attack upon a tribe then helpless in the presence of their formidable foe. In spite of the earnest protests made by Patroon De Vries and Dominie Bogardus, preparations were rapidly pushed forward and, in the darkness of night, soldiers from the Dutch fort and freebooters from Dutch privateers crossed the river to Pavonia. More than a hundred Indians were massacred with cruelties that disgraced European civilization. Unfortunately, much of the history of New Netherland at this period hangs upon the stories of Bogardus and De Vries, and both dominie and patroon hated Kieft worse than they had hated Van Twiller. Perhaps, as Professor Edward

Channing has suggested, Kieft was not quite as bad as he has been painted. 1643

Indian Revenge

Van Tienhoven and his troops returned to the fort with prisoners and bloody tokens, and Kieft gave them an exultant welcome. But the work had not been done with Cromwellian thoroughness and, when the survivors learned that the murders and tortures of Pavonia were worked by the Dutch and not by the Mohawks, the Algonquian tribes made common cause. Swamp and forest swarmed with the furious foe and, for the first time, New Netherland plantations were laid waste. As oft related, Anne Hutchinson, the Massachusetts exile "of nimble tongue and distracting wit," her family, and many others were killed. Kieft had brought a terrible calamity upon the colony and upon his head the people showered their ugly threats and hot maledictions. One of the select twelve threatened to take his life and one of his servants fired at him with murderous intent.

The Eight Men

A cry for help fell on deaf ears at New Haven, and it was forced on Dutch consciousness that if the New Netherlanders were to be saved it must be through their own efforts. Kieft convoked the people in September, 1643, and they chose a council of eight. The "Eight Men" acted with promptness and energy and soon provided a military force of one hundred and twenty men including fifty English settlers. The commander of these troops was John Underhill, who, because of penalties prescribed at Boston in 1640, had removed to New Netherland. In October, the "Eight Men" appealed to "The Assembly of the Nineteen" of the West India company and, in November, directly to the states-general for such assistance as their high mightinesses should deem most proper.

Autograph of Underhill

Underhill's Valor

A brush fence was built across the island on a line near that of modern Wall street, but the Indians killed and plundered almost to the walls of the fort. The winter was one of terror and many returned to Europe. Early in 1644, two Indian villages on Long Island were

1644 surprised and destroyed and more than a hundred warriors
1647 killed. In February, Underhill's little army made a moonlight march into Connecticut, disastrously defeated seven hundred Indians, and captured their palisaded village. The pale moon and the fierce flames lighted up a slaughter that humbled all the hostile eastern tribes. Not a dozen of the seven hundred escaped; there was thanksgiving at Manhattan when the victors returned. One hundred and fifty soldiers soon came from the company's colony at Curaçao and were warmly welcomed. The treasury was empty, the company bankrupt, and Kieft proposed an excise on wines, beer, and beaver-skins. When the brewers refused to pay the tax, their beer was confiscated and given to the soldiers.

At Strickland's Plains

Exit Kieft

In August, 1645, the Indian sachems and the Dutch director signed a treaty and smoked the pipe of peace; in September, a general thanksgiving was observed. Sixteen hundred barbarians had been killed; nearly every Dutch settlement had been destroyed. The "Eight Men" sent to Holland a memorial setting forth Kieft's misgovernment and asking that he might be superseded. Their prayer was granted and, in May, 1647, Peter Stuyvesant began the government of the province. In the interval between Stuyvesant's appointment and his arrival, life was made a burden for the hated director. Dominie Bogardus denounced Kieft from the pulpit and, in retaliation, the governor had cannons fired and drums beaten with the purpose of disturbing the Sunday service.

Peter Stuyvesant

Peter the Paternal

May 11, 1647

Stuyvesant was a soldier who had seen service as governor of Curaçao and lost a leg in an attack on the Portuguese at Saint Martin. His arrival was celebrated by the New Amsterdam people with shouting on all sides and

burning of much powder. In their enthusiasm, they willingly forgot the taint of petty theft in Holland and of military failure in the West Indies. His "silver leg," a wooden one hooped with silver bands, was ostentatious proof that he was no coward, and any change from Kieft was welcomed as relief. The Dutch ecstasy soon evaporated. Stuyvesant was violent, imperious, and despotic, but, taken all in all, he was the best governor that the company sent to New Netherland. The burghers elected eighteen delegates from whom the governor and council selected a board of nine representatives of the people. The "Nine Men" were a sort of official cabinet. They had no power of legislation and could only give advice when their advice was asked. Still, the creation of the board was a concession to the popular will and the nine were able to defeat some of the more arbitrary measures of the director and his council.

1647

The Nine Men

Stuyvesant's Seal

A Troublesome Inheritance

Stuyvesant began his administration with a promise to "govern you as a father does his children." Before many days he was drawn into another's quarrel. Two of the "Eight Men" of Kieft's administration lodged complaint against the late director and demanded an investigation of his conduct of the government. The petition seems to have been thrown out by the council because Stuyvesant feared that "those cunning fellows" might make further trouble "should it happen that our administration does not square with their whims in every respect." Kieft lodged a counter-complaint against the plaintiffs who were required to make answer in twenty-four hours. They were convicted. Kuyter's sentence was a fine and three years' banishment, while the more obnoxious Melyn was given a doubled fine and seven years' banishment. Stuyvesant declared: "If I thought you would appeal from my sentence or divulge it, I would have your head cut off

The Obnoxious Patroons

1647 or have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland." In like spirit and more general terms, he soon announced that "if any one, during my administration, shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter and send the pieces to Holland and let him appeal in that way." Thus was inaugurated the promised paternal government.

Death and Dispensation August 16

After popular demonstrations of "unexpected candor," Kieft sailed for Holland. When the "Princess" lost her way and pounded to pieces on the rocks of Wales, Kieft, Dominie Bogardus, and eighty others were drowned while Kuyter and Melyn were spared. The states-general reversed the sentences of the prisoners and Stuyvesant was not permitted to forget them. The bereaved widow of the minister was twice more married and the "Dominie's farm" became the foundation of the vast wealth controlled by Trinity parish of New York City. Winthrop, governor of the peculiar people at Massachusetts Bay, saw in the death of Kieft the "observable hand of God" and justified the dispensation of Providence by pointing

Map of Bogardus Farm

saw in the death of Kieft the "observable hand of God" and justified the dispensation of Providence by pointing

out that Kieft "had continually molested the colonies at Hartford and New Haven." 1647

On account of the offer of as much land in severalty as they could cultivate and for other reasons, the Dutch settlers in New Netherland were little disposed to gather into villages, as did their English neighbors. Because of this strong individualism and lack of social spirit, the director and council tried by rules and ordinances to compel independent settlers to build forts and towns. Such ordinances for four English town governments on Long Island were granted before the first charter for a Dutch town was sought. A Dutch town, once constituted, was a close corporation. When any of the magistrates retired, their successors were chosen by the director and council from a double list sent in for that purpose by the acting magistrates. The records give no hint of any town-meeting or popular election in any of the Dutch towns. In the same line is the fact that no charter of such a town made provision for local self-government, every ordinance of the local court requiring the approval of the director and council.

Land and Local Government

Brooklyn, 1646

The charters granted by Kieft to the English towns tolerated a practice that in some respects was closer to the customary procedure of New England than to that of New Netherland. Town affairs were settled in town-meeting and the people determined by popular election the nominations for the magistracy made and submitted for the choice of the director and council. The fact that greater liberty was given to the English strangers than to the native Dutch suggests the probability that the special privileges were dictated by the incoming New Englanders and granted by Kieft for the sake of an increased immigration. Stuyvesant proved to be far less compliant.

The English Towns

The peace with Spain cut off the earliest and most fruitful source of revenue of the Dutch West India company and Stuyvesant was hampered by continual lack of means. The Connecticut authorities at Hartford did not take the little Dutch settlement at Fort Good Hope very seriously, Kieft had demonstrated the emptiness of

Poverty

1647 1650 proclamations, and Stuyvesant soon saw the vanity of diplomatic correspondence. He more naturally took to energetic action. He shipped to England the agent of the widow of Earl Stirling and with Greek strategy boarded an unlicensed Dutch vessel at New Haven and made captives of her officers and crew. Before the passing of the paralysis of English energy occasioned by this fine specimen of Dutch audacity, the captured ship had been sailed out of the harbor and was well beyond the reach of rescue. In spite of Governor Eaton, Stuyvesant confiscated the ship as a smuggler seized within the boundaries of New Netherland. The ensuing correspondence was in hot English and furious Dutch. When three of Stuyvesant's servants escaped to New Haven and Governor Eaton refused the demand for their return, the tea-pot boiled over with the tempest. Stuyvesant indignantly proclaimed that "if any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor, yea to the lowest prisoner included, run away from the colony of New Haven or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance." He then coaxed back the wandering servants and thus added to the irritation of the English.

Audacity

Diplomacy

A Boundary Agreement

But Dutch control in the Connecticut valley was gone. The Dutch company would not assume the risk and expense that war involved, and so Stuyvesant made a merit of necessity and concluded a provisional treaty that fixed the boundaries between the two provinces. He got as good terms as a weaker power could expect from one so decidedly its superior. Although the treaty was acceptable to the company and was approved by the states-general, Stuyvesant's political opponents denounced him for a surrender of Dutch territory and especially for his selection of an Englishman and a Frenchman as commissioners at Hartford. The company then ordered him to give public trust to none but those of Dutch nationality. Thus the sentiment of Washington's "Put none but Americans on guard" was antedated by the Dutch and the West India company looms up as the

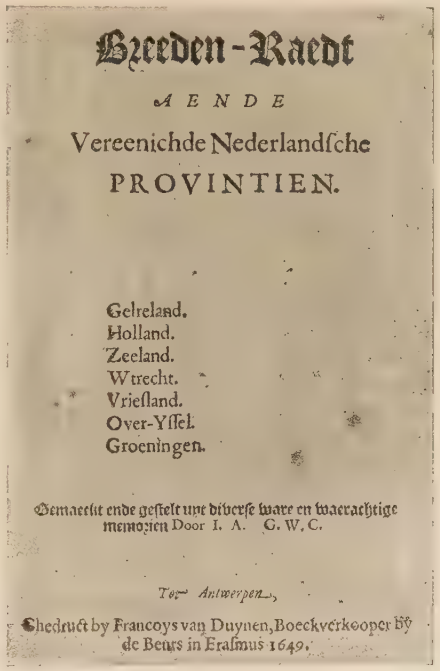
September, 1650

great precursor of the "Know Nothing" party of two centuries later. 1649 1650

When the "Nine Men" proposed to send a delegation to represent to the states-general the mismanagement of New Netherland affairs, they were promptly ushered out of office and another board was appointed. But the struggle between people and director could not thus be stifled and the movement for remonstrance daily grew in strength. In this emergency, Melyn returned from Holland with a writ for Stuyvesant to appear before their high mightinesses to answer to the charges brought against him by the persecuted patroons. A public meeting in the church resulted in a general scramble in which the seal was torn from the writ as, like a battle-flag, it wavered to and fro in the angry snatchings and resnatchings of contending factions. After awhile, order was restored and the document read. Stuyvesant, the "paternal," said: "I honor the states-general and shall obey their commands."

The Triumph of the Patroon

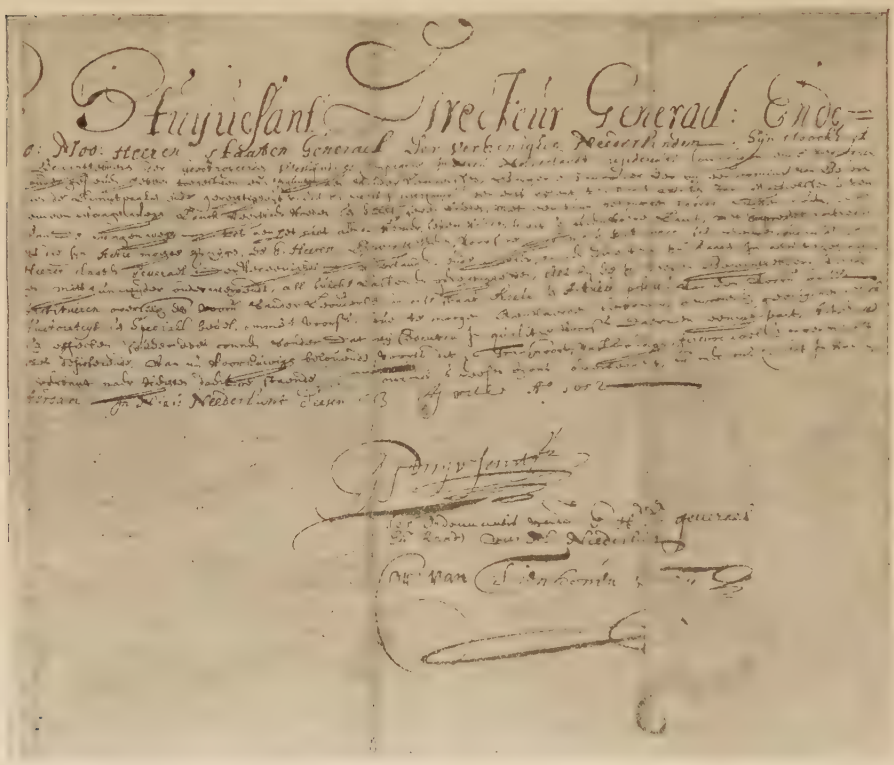
1649


Breeden-Raedt
AENDE
Vereenichde Nederlandſche
PROVINTIEN.
Gelreland.
Holland.
Zeeland.
Wtrecht.
Vrieſland.
Over-Yſſel.
Groeningen.
Gemaeckt ende geſtelt uyt diverſe ware en waerachtige memorien Door I. A. G. W. C.
Tot Antwerpen,
Gedruct by Francoys van Duynen, Boeckverkooper bÿ de Beurs in Eraſmus 1649.

Title-page of Cornelis Melyn's *Breeden-Raedt*

A memorial and a remonstrance were prepared and signed. In the course of time, the document was presented at the Hague and published in an appeal to the people of Holland. Their high mightinesses commanded Stuyvesant's return to Holland. Stuyvesant refused obedience, said that he would do as he pleased

Stuyvesant is Disobedient



Document Signed by Peter Stuyvesant

1649 in the matter, and became more violent than before.
1650 Patroon Melyn had his New Amsterdam property confiscated and was practically confined to his manor on Staten Island which he defended in baronial style. In the end he was driven from the colony. The vice-director, who had been arrested and imprisoned by his superior, wrote:

Violent Also

"Our great Muscovy duke goes on as usual, resembling somewhat the wolf — the older he gets the worse he bites." The attorney-general was "charged to look after the pigs and keep them out of the fort" and, when he objected to the menial service, the director "put him in confinement or bastinadoed him with his rattan." Thus was Stuyvesant as a father to his people and when he walked abroad four halberdiers gave protection to his person.

In 1652, the West India company saw the necessity of yielding something to the burghers who for three years had persistently remonstrated against abuses and prayed for relief. It was decreed that the people should have the right to elect their own municipal officers, the export duty on tobacco was removed, and the company's monopoly of the traffic in negro slaves was surrendered. Stuyvesant issued a proclamation and the people all rejoiced. But the new officers were not elected; Stuyvesant appointed them. The long-suffering people acquiesced, because the war between England and Holland overshadowed, for the time, all internal dissensions.

1652 1653 Promise and Performance February 2, 1653

The English settlers on Long Island and north of the sound became convinced that Stuyvesant was conspiring with the Indians for their destruction. The commissioners of the New England confederacy proposed war against the Dutch. Cromwell encouraged the hostile movement and promised the help of four ships of war. The dissent of Massachusetts prevented effective operations and led the other associated colonies to charge her with "breach of league and covenant." The border town of Fairfield was so determined that a commander was appointed and volunteers were called for. John Underhill, who had rendered valiant service as commander of the Dutch forces under Kieft, hoisted the English flag on Long Island and denounced Stuyvesant by proclamation. The southern towns of Rhode Island also showed eager zeal in the Cromwellian scheme for the conquest of New Netherland and issued commissions to the ubiquitous John Underhill as commander-in-chief of the land forces, and to William Dyer and Edward Hull as commanders at sea. A court of admiralty was appointed, a few cannons were provided, and an army of twenty heroes volunteered. Admiral Hull struck terror into the Dutch enemy by capturing a French ship and General Underhill marched to the unoccupied Fort Good Hope and, by a proclamation nailed upon its doors, "seazed" the house and the thirty acres thereunto belonging. He then sold the conquered territory, first to John Doe for twenty pounds

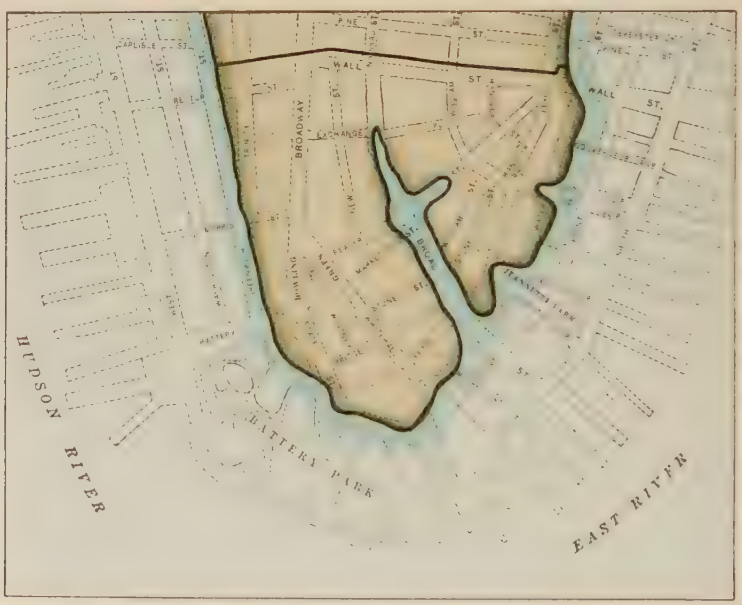
New England Threatens War May 2, 1653 May 24, 1653 Naval and Military Glory

1653 and later to Richard Roe, gave each a deed and put both considerations into his own pocket.

The Towns in Convention

Fear of the English forced the citizens to help the director to put New Amsterdam in a defensible condition. The brush palisade that had been built in 1644 was replaced by a wooden wall on the line of the modern Wall street. The continuance of Indian hostilities and the generally unprosperous condition of the province drove the Dutch and the English settlers on western Long Island from zealous partisanship into active opposition to Stuyvesant's administration, and a convention of the towns was held at the stadt huys or town hall. As Stuyvesant could not provide protection, the object of

November 26 27



Map of the Walled Part of New York

the meeting was to make arrangements necessary for the common defense. As the people were compelled to shield themselves against ruin and destruction, the English delegates declared that they would not pay any more taxes. Stuyvesant said that this "smelt of rebellion"

and the delegates "unanimously resolved to come together again from the respective places on the tenth of December next." Stuyvesant "might then do as he pleased, and prevent it if he could." 1653

Incipient Rebellion

At the adjourned meeting, the representatives of eight towns, Dutch and English, half and half, unanimously adopted a remonstrance and petition setting forth that "we humbly conceive our privileges to be the same, harmonizing in every respect with those of Netherland, being a Member dependent on that state and not a conquered or subjugated people." The document further set forth an apprehension of the establishment of an arbitrary government and declared "that 'tis one of our privileges that our consent or that of our representatives is necessarily required in the enactment" of laws and orders affecting the commonalty, their lives, or property; that officers and magistrates should be chosen only with the consent or nomination of the people whom the matter most concerns; and that many orders or proclamations were either obscure or obsolete so that "we know not when we transgress" them "to the injury and ruin of ourselves and families." Stuyvesant assured the remonstrants that their prayer was extravagant and that they "might as well claim to send delegates to their high mightinesses themselves." When the delegates appealed to their inalienable rights, the director dissolved the convention, threatened its members with punishment if they disobeyed his mandate, and bade them farewell with the assurance that "we derive our authority from God and the West India company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects." But the burghers sturdily asserted their rights and sent an agent to Holland to seek redress and protection from the company. December 11

Stuyvesant's Joy

The war that for three years had been waged between the Dutch republic and the English commonwealth did not extend to America; the refusal of Massachusetts to join in the hostile movement proposed by the other members of the New England confederacy and urged on by Cromwell had saved New Netherland. Peace between

1654 England and Holland was concluded in May, 1654, and,
1656 in his great joy, Stuyvesant issued a thanksgiving proclamation worthy of New England: "Praise the Lord, praise the Lord, O England's Jerusalem; and Netherland's Sion, praise ye the Lord!"

Municipal Administration

Stuyvesant's joy was intensified by the curt response that the company made to the last remonstrance of the people. They wrote to the director: "We approve the taxes you propose;" "have no regard to the consent of the people;" "let them indulge no longer the visionary dream that taxes can be imposed only with their consent." In 1652, Stuyvesant had been directed, as a concession to the inhabitants of New Amsterdam, to "erect there a court of justice formed, as much as possible, after the custom of this city" (i.e., old Amsterdam). Within a year, Stuyvesant inaugurated the new "burgher" government by appointing two burgomasters and five schepens or aldermen and directing that the company's sheriff should act as schout for the city. In 1656, the double nomination system was granted by the director with the conditions that the nominees should be favorable to the director and council and that a member of the council should be present when the nominations were made. Soon after this, the conservative director magnified the aristocratic and hereditary features of this scheme of local government by dividing the population into two classes. They who had held, or whose ancestors had held, high office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, in the city were given the greater "burgerregt;" the distinction might also be bought for fifty guilders. Only members of

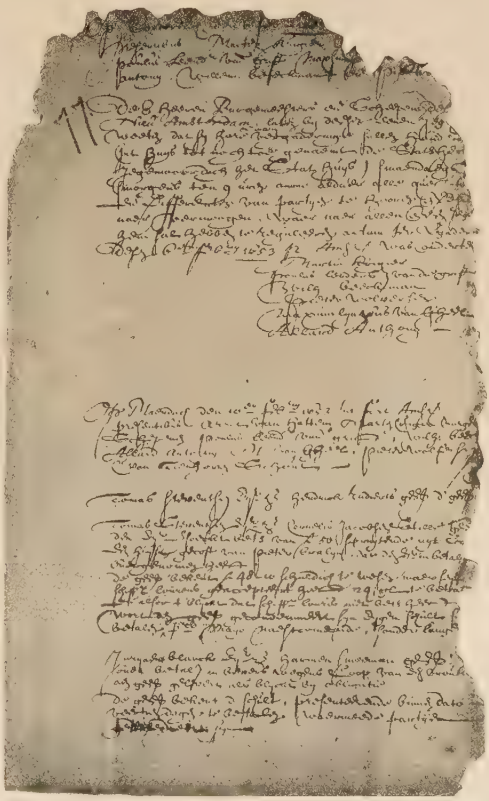
Old View of Present Junction of Pearl and Chatham Streets, New York

The Burgerregt

this class were eligible for city offices. Of the remaining residents, they who were born in the city, or who had lived there and kept fire and light for a year and a half, or who kept shop and paid twenty guilders, held the lesser "burgerregt." 1654 1656

Public Works

At this time, high tides brought the water nearly up to the city hall which fronted the East River near the head of the present Coenties slip. Under such conditions, access to the municipal headquarters was inconvenient, while the people living on the road along the river (now Pearl street) did not like to have the waves dash up to their very doors. The construction of a siding of wood (schoeyinge) was therefore ordered in 1655 — the beginning of the lateral expansion of Manhattan Island into the East River. In the fall of 1654, a colony of Jews from Brazil landed at New Amsterdam. Although there is little if any doubt that there were several Jews among the companions of Columbus, these were the first to take up homes in North America — the beginning of a momentous movement. Prior to this, the directors of the company had written:



First Page of the Oldest Records of New Amsterdam

1654 "We have decreed that a seal for the city of New Amsterdam shall be prepared and forwarded." But the seal, the painted coat of arms that came with it, and the greater and the lesser "burgerregt" could not reconcile the colonists to arbitrary exercise of power. Taxes could not be collected and the people soon began to have another "visionary dream" — the hope of English jurisdiction and English liberties.

1656

May 18, 1654

A City Seal

Seal of New Amsterdam, 1654

New Sweden

For several years, the Dutch had been contending with the Swedes for the control of the region of the Delaware. In 1651, Stuyvesant had built Fort Casimir where Newcastle stands. In 1654, the Swedish governor overpowered the Dutch garrison and, in 1655, Stuyvesant sailed into the Delaware with a force of six or seven hundred men and put an end to the second and last Scandinavian attempt at American colonization. These events will be considered more fully in the following chapter. In 1656, the bankrupt Dutch company conveyed to the city of Amsterdam so much of its newly conquered territory as lay between the Brandywine and Bombay Hook. The burgomasters of the old Dutch city were enthusiastic in regard to the "colony of the city," but their emigrants and soldiers, almost as they landed, betook themselves to the greater liberty of Maryland and Virginia. In 1663, the company ceded to the city all of its remaining territory on the Delaware.

Indian Massacre

When Stuyvesant took seven hundred armed men from Manhattan to New Sweden, he acted with more energy than judgment. Van Dyck, the late attorney-general, killed a squaw whom he found stealing peaches from his garden and soon two thousand Indian warriors swarmed into the streets of New Amsterdam. The Indians were driven from Manhattan, but across the bay that night the red avengers played their game of massacre and outrage. The members of the council sent word to General

September, 1655

MAP OF NEW NET

BY NICOLAS J. VISSCHER

Stuyvesant at the South River that "this done, whole Pavonia was immediately on fire and [now] everything there is burned and everybody killed except the family of Michiel Hansen." On Staten Island, the Indians killed or carried off twenty-three. New Netherland was terror-stricken and Stuyvesant hastened to Manhattan. His energetic and judicious measures were effective and, in a few months, the hostile tribes renewed their treaties of "everlasting peace." 1655 1659

The Esopus War

In 1658, there was trouble with the Esopus Indians, and the Dutch sent some of their copper-colored captives to Curaçao, the chief West Indian slave-market of the Dutch. This error in tactics was not forgotten and, in June, 1663, the river warriors fell upon the unsuspecting villagers of Wiltwyck (Esopus), murdered a score of men, and carried off as prisoners twice as many women and children. With a somewhat picturesque presumption, Mr. Gay says that "in every blow that fell from the tomahawks of the savages was the memory of the slaves, their brothers, across the sea." Stuyvesant pursued and punished the disturbers of Dutch serenity with such severity that they were quickly glad again to promise lasting peace. This treaty put an end to the Esopus war and was the last ever concluded between the Indians and the Dutch.

Lutherans and Quakers

Stuyvesant was as rigid in his Calvinism as in the maintenance of his official prerogatives. In spite of hints from the company's directors, the Lutherans were fined and imprisoned and the persecution of the Quakers was unrelenting and inhuman. Thus, Robert Hodgson was sentenced to a heavy fine and two years' service at hard labor and chained to a wheelbarrow. When the Quaker urged his unfitness for such work, he was whipped with a tarred rope until "Robert fell down." Other persecutions followed, until the Amsterdam directors interfered. As the company carried red captives to the West Indies, so they brought black men to Manhattan. New Amsterdam owned shares in a slave-ship and, in 1659, Stuyvesant received from Curaçao two boys and a girl

Commerce and Manufactures

1660 who, according to the bill of lading, were shipped "all dry and well conditioned and marked with the annexed brand." In 1660, New Amsterdam contained three hundred and fifty houses, a few struggling manufactures, especially of brick and delft, and prospering breweries enough to furnish all the Dutch with their necessary beer. In 1664, the first settlement was made at Schenectady. The salt-springs at Syracuse had been found ten years before.

Crowding the Dutch

By virtue of her charter, Massachusetts claimed the right to plant a colony on the upper Hudson and to navigate the Dutch North River as an open way to it. This meant trouble with New Netherland and, in 1660, Stuyvesant wrote to the Amsterdam chamber of directors that the New England "people are fully convinced that their power overbalances ours tenfold; and it is to be apprehended that they may make further attempts, at this opportunity, without fearing or caring for home interference." The Connecticut charter granted a territory extending from Narragansett Bay to the South Sea and thus cut off another slice of the Dutch domain. In fact, the New England English were "crowding the Dutch" in accordance with their well-established policy.

English Covetousness

At the same time, Lord Baltimore renewed his claims under the charter of 1632 which granted lands from his southern boundary to "the fortieth degree of northerly latitude from the equinoctial, *where New England ends.*" This left little space between the millstones and, when the Dutch made anxious inquiry "Where then is New Netherland?" the English made provoking answer that they did not know. A much duller man than Peter Stuyvesant would have seen that the end was fast drawing near, but with characteristic energy he kept up the hopeless struggle. England and Holland were commercial rivals and, in spite of all navigation laws, a brisk trade was kept up between their colonies in America. The restrictive legislation could not be enforced in America as long as the Dutch retained control of New Netherland. Moreover, the Hudson River was the main pathway of

a lucrative fur trade that England sorely coveted and the control of this region was necessary for the military command of the continent. From so rich a prize the hands of England could not be kept off. 1660 1664

National Policy

Spain had claimed all America by the right of discovery. Queen Elizabeth, therefore, laid down, in 1580, a new principle of international law, namely, that "prescription without possession was of no avail." Great Britain could not question the Dutch title to New Netherland consistently with this principle. But the temptation had become great and Charles II., without even picking a quarrel for the purpose, practically repudiated the Elizabethan doctrine. By the treaty of 1654, Cromwell for England had recognized the Dutch title to New Netherland, but King Charles had little disposition to ratify that act. The navigation laws of 1660, aimed at the growing foreign trade of Holland, were strictly enforced at home but were almost openly disregarded in the English colonies in America. New Amsterdam was the wide-open door for the illicit trade coastwise from New England to Virginia; the easiest way to shut the door was to take possession of the house.

A Royal Gift

In the sixteenth century, England's portentous shadow was the growing power of Catholic Spain; in the seventeenth century, it was the rising commercial supremacy of Protestant Holland. Although religious sympathy is a mighty motive power in determining the action of individuals, it seldom turns aside the diplomacy of monarchs and ministers of state if trade conditions call and opportunity is at hand. The latest call had come from the farmers of the customs who complained that the colonial abuses had robbed their revenues at least ten thousand pounds a year; the opportunity came close behind — the Dutch demand that the boundary line between New Netherland and the English colonies should be established. In March, King Charles granted to his brother, the duke of York, a large part of the province of Maine "and all the Land from the West side of the Connecticut River to the East side of Delaware Bay, and also

December, 1663

January

March 12, 1663 = March 22, 1664

1 6 6 4 all these severall Islands called or known by the names of Martins Vineyard and Nantukes otherwise Nantuket." The western boundary of the grant was vague, but it will answer the present purpose to say that the king gave to his brother the territory that now constitutes the states of New York and New Jersey. The grant was fatal to the Dutch claim to New Netherland and equally so to the "from sea-to-sea" claims of Massachusetts and Connecticut. It was resisted by Connecticut and the controversy had a continuous life of more than two centuries.

The English Fleet April

In the following month, Colonel Richard Nicolls, as the lieutenant-governor of the duke, sailed for New England with four ships and three or four hundred men. Nicolls and his co-commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, Sir George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, had both public and private instructions relating to the capture of New Netherland and the government of New England. In July, a rumor of the fleet and its hostile purpose was blown into New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant, of course, began energetic measures for defense, but the company soon sent from Holland quieting despatches. The commissioners had been shrewd enough to split the truth, sending half by way of Holland to New Amsterdam and delivering the other half in person to the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The fleet was delayed a month at Boston, a whole month that might have been used for preparation at New Amsterdam had not the assurances of the Dutch company's directors removed all incentive. Stuyvesant was on his way to Fort Orange when he was recalled in haste by tidings that the hostile squadron was sailing up the bay. He promptly ordered every third man to work on the defenses of the city. The Long Island farmers stayed at home, Fort Orange failed to send the called-for troops, the citizens demanded an unresisting surrender, and, worst of all, the feeble garrison was mutinous.

The English Demand

On the thirtieth of August, Nicolls made a formal demand for the surrender of the town and fort. While the magistrates and principal citizens were insisting that

ARTYKELEN,

Van't overgaen van

NIEUW-NEDERLANDT.

Op den 27 Augustij, Oude Stijl, Anno 1664.

Symon Gilde van Rarop, Schipper op 't Schip de Gideon, komende van de Menates, of Nieuw-Amsterdam in Nieuw-Nederlandt, raporteert dat Nieuw-Nederlandt, met accoort, sonder eenighe tegenweer den 8 September Nieuwe-Stijl, aen de Engelsen is over-gegeven, op Conditien als volght:

I.

[illegible] staen tot dat de Staten Generael: ofte de West-Indische Compagnie sullen behouden / ofte wyteljck besitten / alle de Bouwerpen en Huysen (uytgesoudert die in de Fortes souden mogen staen) en dat het hare bergunt wordt om binnen ses maenden alle sodanige Wapenen en Ammunitie van oorlogh haer toebehoorende / te verbeuren / [illegible] voor de selve beraeft te worden.

II

[illegible] gegue Huysen, sullen blijven / tot dat ghebruyck daer toe [illegible]

III.

[illegible] Burgers en behoorden hare Landerejen / Huysen / Goederen [illegible] souden mogen syn in dese Contreyen / ende na syn weigeren [illegible]

IV.

[illegible] gheoyrmeens waer om selfs te vertreecken / hy sal genieten [illegible] ende / Vyanden / Landeren / Dienaers en goederen te [illegible] te Landeryen te disponeren.

V.

Indien dat eenige Hooge ofte publiecque Ministers van Stats souden mogen zijn / om [illegible] verlaenthe vertreecken / hy sullen Dracht-hy ober gevoert werden / in syn Ma[illegible] regatten / als deselve derwaerts sullen varen.

VI.

Oock sweer den negotiesen toegelaten / om hyneltjck uyt Nederlant herwaerts te kamen / om in dese gewesten te planteren / ende dat de Duytse Schepen hyn hier mogen komen / ende de Duytsen hyn wederkeeren / ofte met haer eygen Schepen alterlay Koopmanschappen naer Huys senden.

VII.

[illegible] Schepen uyt Vollande ofte elders komende sullen met haer hebbhbende goederen [illegible] en van hier uytgesonden worden als voor desen voor onse aen[illegible] ofte der voor sesthetien of twelf ende Maenden.

VIII.

De Duytsen alhier sullen behouden / ende ghenieten vryheydt van conscientie in Godsdienst ende Kerckelijcke Discipline.

IX.

[illegible] Duytschman ofte Duytschmans Schip / sal hier in eenige ghelegentheydt [illegible] worden ten Oorloge, tegens hoedanige Natie het oock souden zijn.

X.

Geen Mantenaers Man ofte Inwoonder sal eenige inquartieringe opgelegt worden [illegible] satisfactie en betalinge voor haer Officiers daer voor ghedaen [illegible] deser gelegentheydt / hy alhier in het Fort alle de Soldaten niet konnen [illegible] soo sullen de Burgemeesters ghehouden zijn / door haer Officieren eenighe Huysen / tot dien eynde te beschicken.

XI.

De Duytsen sullen (aengaende haer erfenisse) behouden haer eygen gewoonten.

XII.

Alle publiecque Geschrijven en bewijsen / betreffende de Erfenisse van yemandt ofte [illegible] Diaconie ofte Weese-kamer) sullen soodhynldighlijk bewaert [illegible] / ende / ander welcke sy beruhrende zijn / ende sulcke Geschrijven / die de Staten Generael [illegible] / sullen t'eenigeer tyt haer toegesonden werden.

XIII.

Geen voordel hier voor de Rechtbanck gepasseert / tal weder in recht mogen ghevocht [illegible] / maer indien yemant dermeent dat hem geen recht geschiedt is / soo hy hem [illegible] tot de Staten Generael / de andere party sal gehouden zijn hem 't gesuppo[illegible] ende angelyck te verantwoorden.

XIV.

Soo eenigh Duytsman hier woonachtigh t'eeniger tijt begeert te zijn / ofte in Engelsche koopmanschap te dryven / ofte in eenige van syn Majesteyts Plaetsen, ofte met de Indianen, soo sal hem op syn gedaen Request aen de Gouverneur een Brieffe verleent worden / dat hy is een vry Burger van dese Plaetsy / als oock vyheyt gegeven wordt om te negotieren.

XV.

Alle subalterne Borghers / Officiers / en Magistraten sullen / indien 't haer gelieft / continueren in hare plaetse / tot den gewoonlychen tijdt / in welcke de Nieuwe Electie gedaen wordt / als dan sullender nieuwe gekooren werden door haer selven met dese conditie / dat de nieuwe gekooren Magistraten sullen moeten doen den Eet van getrouwigheydt aen syn Majesteyt van Engelandt / eer dat sy hare Officie aenvaerden.

XVI.

Sy aldien het sal blijcken datter eenige publijcke onkosten zijn gedaen / en een middel beraemt / om dese onkosten te betalen / het is geaccordeert dat dit middel sal standt grypen / ter tijdt toe dat dese onkosten sullen voldaen zijn.

XVII.

Alle voor-gemaeckte Contracten / Schulden en Weer-schulden / binnen dese Provintien yemandt raeckende, sullen volgens de Duytsche wijse / gevordert worden.

XVIII.

By aldien het kan blijcken dat de West-Indische Compagnie van Amsterdam aen yemandt hier eenige somme geldts schuldigh is / het is geaccordeert / dat de recognitie van de Schepen en andere schuldige inkomsten der Schepen naer Nederlandt varende / sullen ses Maenden langer continueren.

XIX.

De Militaire Officieren en Soldaten sullen uyttreechen met volle ghewer / vliegende Vaendel / en staende Trommel / ende indien yemandt der selver soude willen blijven om te planten / haer sal bergunt en aengewesen werden / vijftigh Ackers Landts; en indien yemandt van haer soude willen dienen als een Dienaer / sy sullen vryelych gecontinueert worden / ende daer nae Vryc-Borgers zijn.

XX.

Soo wanneer de Koninghs van Groot-Brannien / ende de Staten der Vereenighde Nederlanden accorderen / dat dese Plaetse en Provintie / weder in handen van de Heeren Staten sal gelevert werden / wanneer syn Majesteyt sulcks sal beveelen / het sal opstaende voet over-gelevert werden.

XXI.

De Stadt op de Manathans sal vermogen haer Gedeputeerdens te verkiesen / ende dese Gedeputeerden / sullen hare vyre stemmen hebben in alle publiecque Besongies / soo wel als andere Gedeputeerden.

XXII

Welcke eenige Huysen mochten hebben in de Fortresse Orangie sullen vermogen / soo sy willen / de Fortificatie slechten / en behouden ofte besitten hare Huysen / gelyck een vegelijcken doet daer geen Fort en is.

XXIII.

Indiender yemandt van de Soldaten soude willen vertreechen naer Vollandt / ende indien de West-Indische Compagnie van Amsterdam / ofte eenige yvde Persoon alhier haer selven soude willen transporteren / soo sullen sy hringen een vyp Paspoort van Colonel Richard Nicolls gedeputeerde Gouverneur onder syn Koninchlijcke Hooghheyt / en van andere Gecommitteerdens / om de Schepen te beschermen die soodanige Soldaten overbeeren, de goederen daer in zynde voor wegh-genomen te worden / ofte tegens eenige vyandlijcke actie / welcke soude mogen van syn Majesteyts Schepen ofte Onderdanen / aengedaen werden.

XXIV

Dat de Copie van des Koninghs Patent, aen syn Koninchlijcke Hooghheyt / en de Copie van syn Koninchlijcke Hooghheyts Commissie aen Colonel Nicols sonderteycheent en geteyghe hoor noch twee Gecommitteerdens en Mr. Jan Winthrop, dat het warte Copien zijn) sullen over-gelevert worden aen de eerwaerdige Mr. Stuyvesand de tegenwoordige Gouverneur, op Maendagh toekomende / 's morgens ten achten / by de oude Muren / als oock dat de Artikelen toegestaen en verzegelt sullen worden door Colonel Nicols Vice-Gouverneur van syn Hooghheyt / en dat dan twee uuren daer nae / het Fort en de Stadt / ghenaemt Nieuw-Amsterdam / op 't Eylandt Manathans / sal over-gegeven worden / in handen van den voor-gemelden Colonel Richard Nicolls, door den dienst van soodanige / als hy daer toe sal deputeren / onder syn Handt en Tegel.

Was onderteeckent

J. d. Decker.	Robbert Carr.
N. Verlet.	George Cartwright.
Sam. Megapolensis.	John Winthrop.
Cornelis Steenwijck.	Sam. Willes.
O. Stevensz. Cortlant.	Tho. Clarcks.
Jacque Cousseau.	John Phinchon.

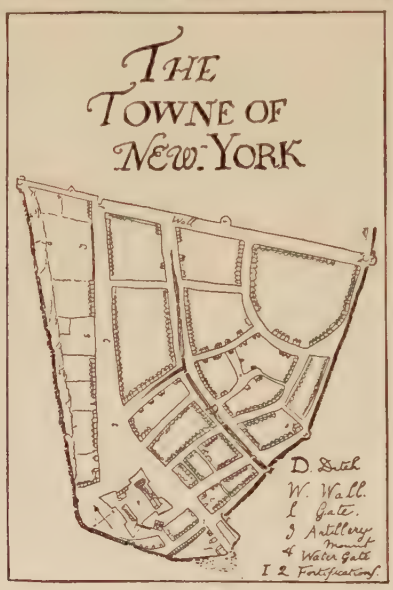
Ick stae dese Artijkelen toe (*ongeteeckent*)

RICHARDT NICOLLS.

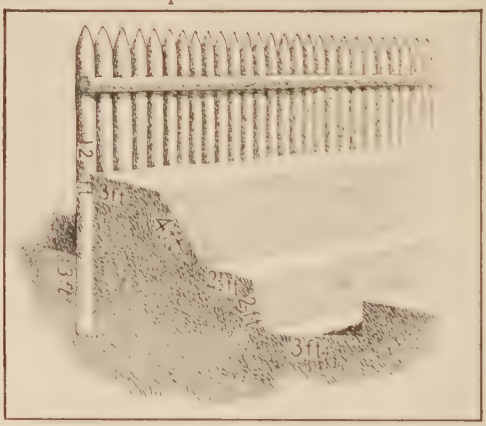
COPY OF ORIGINAL PRINTED ARTICLES OF SURRENDER OF NEW NETHERLAND TO THE ENGLISH

(Printed in Holland, probably as a poster, in 1664)

1664 this despatch should be read to the people and Stuyvesant was protesting against such a proceeding, Governor Winthrop, who was at hand with some Connecticut volunteers, brought, under a flag of truce, another letter from the commander of the English forces. When the burgomasters in the council-chamber demanded that this second letter should be read to the surging multitude without, the director became furious and tore the missive into pieces, scattering the fragments and thus ending the debate with a dramatic flourish. Stuyvesant sought to argue matters, but Nicolls would listen to nothing but immediate surrender. The English cavalry and the Connecticut militia were encamped on Long Island and additional troops were landed from two of the ships. As the two other frigates sailed up the harbor with broadsides bearing on the fort, Stuyvesant stood on the rampart and by his side a gunner with a lighted match. When that gun is fired, the bombardment of the city will begin and



Plan of Old New York



Section of Wall in Wall Street

the death struggle follow. All Manhattan holds its breath. 1664 1665

But the director gave no order, neither fort nor frigate fired a gun, and Stuyvesant was "led in from the bulwarks between two preachers," advocates for peace. The frigates anchored in the river and Nicolls gave notice that if the city was not given up he would open fire on the following day. The citizens knew that the city was practically defenseless and vehemently insisted that it was better "to surrender on favorable terms than to lose their lives in behalf of a government which had done so little for them. If they were lost to Holland, it was Holland's loss, not theirs." On the sixth of September, articles of surrender were agreed upon; on the eighth, they were approved by Stuyvesant. On that Monday, the helpless Dutch followed their wooden-legged governor from the gates of Fort Amsterdam. As they went on board the ship that was to bear some of them back to Holland, they sadly saw the English flag hoisted over the newly named Fort James. The burgomasters of New Amsterdam made proclamation and Nicolls became deputy-governor of New York. As remarked by Fiske, the conquest of New Netherland was, politically, "a piece of abominable treachery," while historically, "it brought New England into connection with Virginia and the Carolinas, and rendered the ultimate formation of a great American confederation not only possible but in the highest degree probable."

The English Success

September 8, 1664

Stuyvesant Tablet

Stuyvesant went to Holland in 1665 to make his report. After the treaty of Breda had confirmed New York to the English, he returned to New York and spent the remainder of his life on his farm called the Great Bouwerie, whence the present Bowery takes its name. His house, then well

Stuyvesant's Later Days

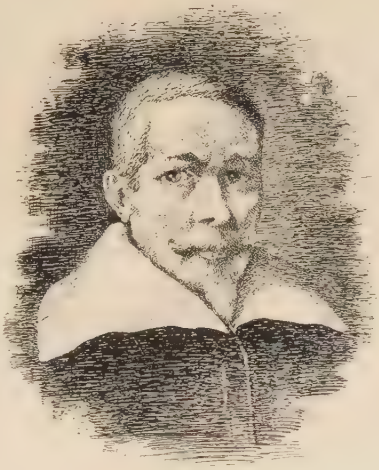
1665 outside the city and described as a stately specimen of Dutch architecture, stood near what is now Tenth street. It was destroyed by fire in 1777. According to the memorial tablet in the outer wall of Saint Mark's church in New York city, Stuyvesant died in February, 1672.

CHAPTER XII

NEW SWEDEN

WE have already noted the beginnings of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware which the Dutch called the South River to distinguish it from the Hudson which they called the North River. In 1624, William Usselinx, the Flemish founder of the Dutch West India company, urged upon the notice of the Swedish king the advantages to be derived from colonies in foreign parts. In accordance with his proposition and with the warm approval of the able and enterprising King Gustavus Adolphus, a Swedish commercial company, commonly called the South company, was incorporated and its stock thrown open to all Europe. The king subscribed liberally for the enterprise but, before his purpose was carried out, he met Wallenstein and death at Lützen. The Swedish chancellor, Oxenstiern, urged on the undertaking and declared himself to be but the executor of the wish of Gustavus Adolphus. But the country was

1624
1633
The South Company



June 14, 1626

November, 1632

April, 1633

1638 poor and the Thirty Years' war was raging; five years passed before Peter Minuit, late of New Amsterdam, led forth the first colony from Sweden to the New World, and that expedition was a private venture backed by Dutch and Swedish capital; with it the South company had nothing to do.

The First Plantation

Early in 1638, a man-of-war, the "Kalmar Nyckel" (Key of Calmar), and a sloop, the "Gripen" (Griffin), bore Minuit and his colony of Swedes and Finns into Delaware Bay. To the threescore persons who had

Engraved Title-page of Thomas Campanius Holm's *Nya Sverige*

sailed away from the bleakness of northern Europe, the first view of New Sweden in early spring awakened delight and more than realized their expectations. When they landed for observation and refreshment on the west side of the bay, about a score of miles above Cape Henlopen, their enthusiasm rose so high that

they named the place "Paradise Point." Thence they proceeded up the river. From the Indians, Minuit "bought" land extending from Bombay Hook northward to the River Schuylkill and stretching indefinitely westward. The settlement was made at the mouth of a stream that, in honor of the child queen at Stockholm, they called Christina Creek. There, at the site of Wilmington, they built Fort Christina. From the seed thus planted grew the commonwealth of Delaware. Minuit seems to have recognized the Dutch claim to the eastern side of the Delaware and to have seen no rights accruing from the short-lived settlement of Zwanendael. Director-general Kieft issued from New Amsterdam one of the proclamations to which Irving has done justice, but the Dutch governor of the Swedish colony had studied the game from the inside and was not seriously alarmed. Not long after this, Minuit disappeared from history. He was probably lost at sea while on his way back to Sweden.

1638

March 29

New Sweden, 1638–1655
(Compiled with aid from Prof. Albert Cook Myers)

Peter Hollender, the second governor of New Sweden,

1640 1643

New England Interference

arrived at Fort Christina on the seventeenth of April, 1640. The Swedish government put forth energetic efforts and many would-be emigrants were unable to get passage in the vessels that sailed from Gottenburg for the Delaware. In 1640 and 1641, Englishmen from New Haven bought lands from the Indians on both sides of the river. In August, 1641, the New Haven general court declared these southern "plantations" to be "in combination with" their town. The Swedes and the Dutch had entered into an alliance "to keep out the English" and when, in 1642, the New Haven colonists attempted to begin their settlements, Kieft sent two sloops from New Amsterdam. The sloops, the Swedes, and the Dutch from Fort Nassau made good their purpose; the intruders were carried to Manhattan and thence sent back to New Haven. By successive purchases from the Indians, Hollender added largely to the domain of New Sweden.

Governor Printz

The third governor of New Sweden was John Printz, a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry who had been dismissed from the service and restored to royal favor. According to Captain De Vries, he was a man of brave size, "weighing upwards of four hundred pounds and drinking three drinks at every meal" — by no means the only reason why he still appears as the most conspicuous figure in the short history of the colony. He arrived at Fort Christina with the fourth Swedish expedition on the fifteenth of February, 1643. He established his headquarters on Tinicum Island, above Fort Christina and a few miles below the site of Philadelphia, the first settlement by white men within the limits of modern Pennsylvania. Here he built "Printzhof" (Printz Hall) and a fort. This fort, New Gottenburg, commanded the stream and every passing ship had to dip her colors and pay good tribute for a chance to trade. Printz had orders to keep a monopoly of the fur trade, to treat the Indians "with all humanity," to subdue or remove the English settlers from his territory, to maintain friendly relations with his Dutch neighbors, and, in case of hostile encroachment, to repel

force by force. His "instructions" from the guardians of the queen, who was still in her minority, again pushed back the boundaries claimed for New Sweden. 1643 1646

Colonists gathered their homes around the forts at Christina and Tinicum and Swedish plantations grew in number. Printz was firm in his treatment of intruders from New England and maintained a diplomatic correspondence with the governor of Massachusetts. One of his letters to Winthrop is described by Gregory B. Keen as "more amiable than truthful." He got along better with the Dutch. In his report of 1644, Printz writes: "Ever since I came here, the Hollanders have shown great amity, particularly their director at Manhattan, William Kieft, who writes to me very frequently, as he has opportunity, telling the news from Sweden and Holland and other countries of Europe; and though at the first he gave me to understand that his West India company laid claim to our river, on my replying to him with the best arguments at my command, he has now for a long while spared me these inflictions."

Dutch Forbearance

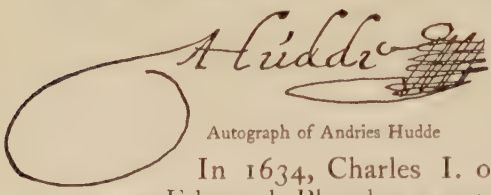
June 29, 1644

A few immigrants arrived in 1644 and raised the colonial total to ninety exclusive of the women and children. In December, 1645, New Gottenburg was burned, "nothing being rescued but the dairy." Printz rebuilt the storehouse and decorated the new church "so far as our resources would permit after the Swedish fashion." Friendly relations with the Dutch were soon interrupted. When Andries Hudde, the Dutch commissary at Fort Nassau, acting under orders from Manhattan, began a settlement near the site of Philadelphia, Governor Printz sent an officer who tore down the Dutch arms "in an insolent and hostile manner" and with threatening words and "bloody menaces." The astonished Hudde sent a quartermaster to Printz and the quartermaster reported that "notwithstanding he had come in becoming form he was pushed out of doors, the Governor having taken a gun from the wall, as he could see, to shoot him." But there is another version to the effect that the big Swedish governor picked up the Dutch message-bearer and threw

Dutch Hostility

October 8, 1646

1641 him bodily out of doors. Of course, after this, there
1646 could be no social intercourse between the two peoples. When Kieft laid down his much-abused authority, the Swedes were strong and growing stronger, as the Dutch had long been weak and waning.



Autograph of Andries Hudde

The Plowden Patent

In 1634, Charles I. of England had granted to Sir Edmund Plowden a patent for "New Albion." This province was to include so much of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland as is covered by a square the eastern side of which extended from Sandy Hook to Cape May, in addition to Long Island and all other "isles and islands in the sea within ten leagues of the shore of the said region." Sir Edmund was to have extraordinary privileges like those granted to Lord Baltimore. The earl palatine of the parchment province came to America in 1641. It is said that for want of a pilot his colonists entered the Chesapeake instead of the Delaware and increased the population of Virginia. According to a report of Governor Printz, Plowden granted to Virginia skippers "free commission to trade here in the river with the savages; but I have not yet permitted any of them to pass, nor shall I do so until I receive orders and command to that effect from my most gracious queen, her royal majesty of Sweden." Printz was as good as his word and so successfully "affronted" Sir Edmund that the Irish knight abandoned the Delaware.

June 20, 1644

The Plowden Arms

In February, 1647, New Sweden had a population of

a hundred and eighty-three and Printz earnestly asked for more colonists, "and above all, unmarried women as wives for the unmarried freemen and others." He also asked to be relieved of office that he might return to Sweden. In answer to this appeal, the seventh Swedish expedition for the Delaware sailed from Gottenburg carrying a supply of ammunition, a few emigrants, and orders for Printz to remain until his place could be supplied. The warlike Stuyvesant took up the government of New Netherland in the intervening May and soon was claiming everything between capes Cod and Henlopen. For several years, the English colonists and Dutch dissenters kept him so busy that he was unable to pay much attention to affairs on the South River. The traffic on the Schuylkill was the most valuable in those parts and, when the Dutch commander of Fort Nassau built Fort Beversrede on the bank of that river, Printz's men built another house within a dozen feet, "in front, between it and the river."

1647
1650

Swedish Recruits and Dutch Claims

September 25, 1647

An Indian Family of Delaware, from *Nya Sverige*

The Shadow of Peter Stuyvesant

In 1649, the eighth Swedish expedition to New Sweden sailed in the "Cat," under the command of Captain Lucifer. The ship carried more than threescore emigrants, tools of every sort, cannons, powder, lead, grenades, muskets, pistols, and other materials of war. Had Lucifer not run the "Cat" upon rocks where she was pillaged by Porto Rico Spaniards, the history of New Sweden might have been changed. When Printz heard of the disaster, he immediately wrote to the Swedish royal

July 27=August 6, 1650

1650 council renewing his request to be relieved of office
1653 because of his age and great feebleness and adding: "The governor who relieves me will find his position as good as any similar one in Sweden. I have taken possession of the best places and still hold them. Notwithstanding repeated acts and protests of the Dutch, nothing whatever has been accomplished by them; and where, on several occasions, they attempted to build within our boundaries, I at once threw down their work; so that if the new governor brings enough people with him, they will very soon grow weary and disgusted, like the Puritans, who were most violent at first, but now leave us entirely in peace."

A Dutch Reconnoissance in Force

In June, 1651, Stuyvesant found time for a personal inspection of his territory on the Delaware. He saw that Fort Nassau was too far up the stream; just where there was nothing to protect and where no one would come to be attacked. Stuyvesant therefore destroyed it. He then sailed up and down the river with a dozen ships, an overpowering force, and hostile demonstrations, landed two hundred soldiers on the western bank, and built Fort Casimir on a point of land five miles below Fort Christina. Where Fort Casimir was built, Newcastle stands, the center of the circular arc that forms the northern boundary of Delaware. The Swedes no longer commanded the South River and Stuyvesant's force was too strong for summary treatment.

April 26, 1653

Nearly two years later, Printz reported that "the Hollanders have quit all their places on the river except Fort Casimir, where they have settled about twenty-six families. To attempt anything against them with our present resources, however, would be of no avail. More people must be sent over from Sweden, or all the money and labor hitherto expended on this undertaking, so well begun, is wasted." The summer passed without any word from home and, in October or November, Printz deputed the government to his son-in-law, John Pappegoya, and sailed for Sweden.

Before Printz arrived in Sweden, a deputy governor,

John Rising, had sailed thence with three hundred and fifty emigrants, including women and children. Almost as many more were obliged to stay behind for lack of room. In the latter part of May, Gerrit Bikker, the commander of the dozen Dutch soldiers at Fort Casimir, saw a sail and sent messengers to the ship to see who she was and to ask what she wanted. On their return on Sunday, the messengers reported that it was a Swedish ship with a new governor who demanded the surrender of the fort. In perplexity, Bikker asked, "What can I do? There is no powder." His curiosity was quickly gratified; the Swedes marched into the fort. Bikker complained that though he "welcomed them as friends," the Dutch "were immediately chased out of the fort and their goods taken in possession, as likewise *my* property." Fort Casimir was named anew Fort Trinity; the capture had been made on the Trinity Sunday of the Lutheran calendar. The following day, the Dutch settlers at Christina took the oath of allegiance to the queen of Sweden and Rising soon relieved the discouraged Pappegoya at Tinicum. In July, Stuyvesant reported to the directors of the company at Amsterdam the details of what he called "this scandalous surrender of the above mentioned fort."

1654

The Swedes Capture a Dutch Fort

Saturday, May 30

Fort Trinity

The episode at Fort Casimir was fun for Rising, but it proved to be expensive entertainment. Printz was in Sweden where tardy but strenuous efforts were making to strengthen the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. On the fifteenth of April, the "Gyllene Hajen" (Golden

Dutch Luck

1654 Shark), that had often sailed from Old Sweden to the
1655 New, left Gottenburg with emigrants and stores. In September, she sailed into a bay that was supposed to be the Delaware. In fact, the waterway led up to Manhattan and the irate Stuyvesant, instead of New Gottenburg and Rising. Ship and cargo were confiscated; most of the settlers remained in New Netherland. This was only premonitory of the "sudden thundering and lightning" that Governor Printz had feared would some time break forth from New Amsterdam. In November, the Dutch company's directors wrote to Stuyvesant that Bikker's conduct was infamous and cowardly and directed him "to exert every nerve to revenge the injury, not only by restoring affairs to their former situation, but by driving the Swedes from every side of the river as they did with us." They sent their approval of the seizure of the "Gyllene Hajen" and promised one of the largest and best ships of Amsterdam with thirty-six guns and two hundred men for the proposed action which was to come off as quickly as possible. The promised man-of-war, "De Waag" (The Balance), arrived at New Amsterdam on the fourth of August, 1655, and Stuyvesant quickly and quietly completed the necessary preparations. On the twenty-sixth, the Dutch director sailed in personal command of an army of six or seven hundred men and a fleet consisting of the well-armed "De Waag" and six smaller ships each carrying four guns. After a pleasant day's voyage, they entered the Delaware and, on the thirtieth, fired some cannons and captured a few of the enemy.

Dutch Revenge

The Capture of Fort Trinity

From his spies in New Amsterdam, Rising got warning of the coming of the enemy. The garrison at Fort Trinity was increased to forty-seven men but the issue was inevitable; the settlers in the region from the Schuylkill to the capes, counting Swedes, Finns, Dutch, and English, did not number more than half of the invading force. On the morning of the thirty-first, the Dutch were in front of the fort and Stuyvesant sent a messenger to demand a surrender. The ten men that Rising sent

September 10, n. s.

1655

from Christina were taken prisoners on the way, a third of the garrison rose in mutiny, and two deserted to the enemy. The next morning, Fort Trinity capitulated and again became Fort Casimir. The Swedes marched out with colors flying and their places were taken by the Dutch.

Siege of Fort Christina

(A, Fort Christina; B, Christina Creek; C, Town of Christina Hamn; D, Tennekong Land; E, Fish Kill; F, Slangenborg; G, Myggenborg; H, Rottnborg; I, Fligenborg; K, Timber Island; L, Kitchen; M, Position of the Dutch Besiegers; N, Harbor; O, Mine; P, Swamp.)

September 1–11

On the day after the capitulation of Fort Trinity, the Dutch appeared at Fort Christina and, in a few days, completed their investment of the place. The fort was at the water's edge with a natural wharf of rocks so boldly rising from the lower ground adjacent that ships might come alongside in deep water. It was so weak a defense that Mr. Gay has suggested that its builder "evidently thought that no enemy would ever be so ungenerous as to take advantage of its situation and approach it on the land side from the rear, when the clear intent was that it should only be attacked in front from the river." The garrison had been reduced to thirty men, there was hardly any powder, and a council of war decided simply to repel assaults. A bombardment of argument was then begun and continued until the fifteenth, when a proposal for

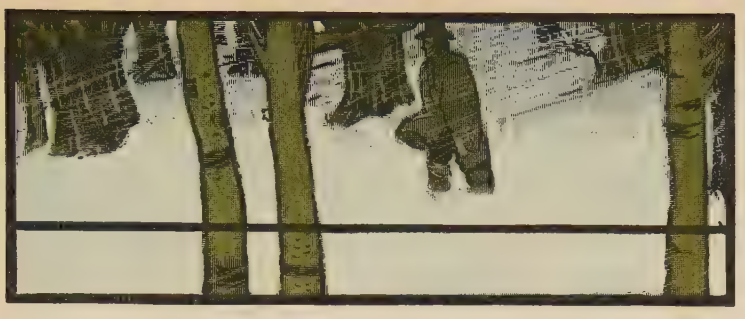
The Surrender of Christina September 2–12

1655 September 15–25 surrender was accepted. The Swedes marched out of the fort "with beating of drums, fifes and flying colors," in accord with an apparent local custom when a military stronghold was given up. The two weeks' bloodless siege has been made famous by Washington Irving and his Knickerbocker history.

The End of New Sweden

Influenced by news of Indian troubles at New Amsterdam and the necessity of his quick return thither, Stuyvesant proposed that the Swedes should reoccupy their fort and keep their lands up the river, that the Dutch should take the territory south of Christina Creek, and that the two nations should thenceforth act together against all others. The wary Swedes refused to complicate the situation by any compromise and preferred to leave it to their "most worthy superiors to resent and redress their wrongs in their own time, and in such way and with such force as might be requisite." Some of the Swedes remained and took the oath of allegiance to Dutch authority. The great Gustavus no longer swept the plains of Europe with his victorious hosts; his eccentric daughter had given up her crown to her wooing cousin, preferring, according to Voltaire, "to live with men who think rather than to reign over men without learning or genius." In 1669, the Swedish minister at London was instructed, "without attracting attention, secretly, adroitly, and cautiously" to ascertain England's intention with respect to the country on the Delaware. With the report of the minister, it seems that all claims were given up. Rising was never reinstated and New Sweden ceased to be.

July 24, 1669



CHAPTER XIII

ROGER WILLIAMS AND ANNE HUTCHINSON

Cotton, Hooker, and Stone

EVIL days were threatening England and "Godly people there began to apprehend a special hand of Providence in raising this [Massachusetts] plantation, and their hearts were generally stirred to come over." Among these came, in 1633, three ministers, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone. Cotton, an eminent scholar who found all the wisdom of the fathers "compactly stored in Calvin" was an open nonconformist who had been honored by Archbishop Laud's distinguished consideration. Later rector of Saint Botolph's church in Boston, Lincolnshire, he now became teacher of the church in Boston, Massachusetts. Hooker became the pastor and Stone the teacher of the church at Newtown (Cambridge). Hooker was a man of vast endowments and strong will, energetic and firm, tolerant and gentle. He had been "silenced" by Archbishop Laud in 1630 and driven by further persecution into Holland. His flock had preceded him to the New World and when he landed they gave him a joyous welcome.

J Cotton

September 3, 1633

Born in London, probably in 1607, the son of a merchant

1631
1633

Roger Williams

tailor, a pupil (through the favor of Sir Edward Coke) in the then newly founded Charterhouse school, and graduated at Cambridge in 1626, Roger Williams was admitted to orders in the English church. With his youth and ardor, he blended a marked tendency toward Separatism and a knightly devotion to the principle of freedom of conscience. When he came to Massachusetts he undoubtedly expected to find abundant room for the development of ideas for which he knew that England was too narrow. Instead of that, he found himself face to face with the reactionary principle of theocracy. Irving B. Richman tells us that in that presence Williams stood "perplexed, indignant, weapon drawn, challenging it by every instinct of his nature and at every point. It was of the old and of the darkness; he was of the new and of the light; and there could be no parley between them. His attack, therefore, was made at once and all along the line; and like that of many another young soldier, comprehended somewhat too indiscriminately both the salient and the negligible points of the enemy." This estimate of the man and his new environment seems to be fair and constitutes the key to a clear understanding of the events that followed.

Saint Botolph's Church, Boston, England

A New Doctrine and its Apostle

Williams arrived at Salem early in February, 1631, and, in the summer of that year, moved on to Plymouth where he engaged in labor and trade for his own support and assisted the Pilgrim elders in religious ministrations. Bradford found that he had "many precious parts" but that he was "very unsettled in judgment." In August, 1633, Williams returned to Salem and much tribulation. The Massachusetts authorities had already found him to

be what John Quincy Adams afterwards pronounced him to be, a conscientiously contentious man. About a year after his return, the Reverend Mr. Skelton died and Williams was regularly settled as pastor of the Salem church. This was to the great discomfort of the authorities of Massachusetts Bay, to whom Williams's way of falling "into strange opinions and from opinions to practice" was very vexatious. Williams had written a tract holding that a royal grant of lands must be defective unless the grantees "compound with the natives." For this offense, committed at Plymouth, the author was cited to appear before the Massachusetts general court. After explanation, the court found "the matters not so evil as at first they seemed." But it was impossible for Mr. Williams to keep quiet and he declared that "no one should be bound to worship or to maintain a worship against his own consent." When others in amazement asked, "Is not the laborer worthy of his hire?" he coldly answered, "Yes, from them that hire him." Moreover, this Salem teacher taught that the civil magistrate may not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy. In short, Roger Williams had a new doctrine of which he became the earliest active exponent in America. James Bryce styles him an orthodox Puritan gifted with a double portion of the dissidence of dissent and the first apostle in New England of the theory of absolute freedom for the individual in matters of religion.

1634

August

Polemical Theology

In those days there was a perpetual anxiety concerning the unregenerate toilet and Williams preached a famous sermon to the effect that modesty required women to go veiled in public. Down came every veil in Salem; in the words of Colonel T. W. Higginson, Paul, veils, and vanity carried the day. John Cotton, whom Williams had known well in England, hastened from Boston to refute the heresy; he regarded veils as tokens of submission to husbands in an unscriptural degree. He carried every woman "captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric" and up went every veil in Salem, "probably the most astounding visible result from a single sermon within the memory of

1634 1635 man." Endecott leaped into the arena, met Cotton in a fierce debate, and Governor Winthrop had to interfere in behalf of public peace.

Radical and Reckless November, 1634

A more serious thing than this was Williams's renewal of his attack on the Massachusetts charter and his letter to the king concerning the evil of "that part of the patent which respected the donation of land." Just at this time there was a report that the lords of the privy council had ordered that the Massachusetts patent should be laid before them in England and that the king was about to send over a governor-general for the English colonies in America. In that moment of peculiar peril, it was natural that the Massachusetts authorities should lose patience with the recklessness of persistently urging dangerous political opinions. In April, 1635, just when the Massachusetts magistrates were imposing a special oath upon the freemen with the purpose of strengthening the resistance that they contemplated if a governor-general should be sent, Williams attacked the administration of oaths to the unregenerate. Although, according to Edward Winslow, Williams was a man "lovely in his carriage," and although Winthrop had for him a warm affection, and even John Cotton held him in high personal esteem, this course was "undeniably factious" and very difficult of toleration. Charles Francis Adams and Irving B. Richman have compared the irrepressible Roger Williams of Boston in 1635 with William Lloyd Garrison of Boston in 1835, another who was in earnest, would not equivocate, would not excuse, would not retreat a single inch, and would be heard. In each case, history will crown the statue with unfading laurel without hiding its recognition of the fact that when a man goes so far ahead of his age that he gets out of touch with his contemporaries he is likely to encounter serious trouble.

Discussion

The members of the Salem church proved loyal to their minister and the court at Boston refused an application made by the town of Salem for a grant of land. The Salem church sent letters to other Massachusetts churches proposing an admonition of the magistrates and

deputies for their "heinous sin" and, early in September, the general court "ordered that the deputies of Salem shalbe sent back to the ffreemen of their towne that sent them, to fetch satisfaction for their letters sent to the severall churches wherein they have exceedingly reproached & vilyfied the magistrates and deputyes of the Generall Court." With apparent hesitation, the members of the court took the successive steps that led up to banishment. There was a war of petitions, protests, expostulations, and appeals, and the general court "voted & by generall erection of hands concluded that Mr. Endicott should be committed for his contempt in protesting against the proceedings of the Court," but "vpon his submission & full acknowledgment of his offence, hee was dismissed." But the court was confronted with a plain duty, that is, with what appeared to its members as such. 1635

Williams's political notions were bad and his plain doctrine that the magistrate had no right to meddle with any man's conscience or religious opinions was intolerable in a community where no man was a citizen unless he was a church-member and no man was a church-member except with the minister's permission. In October, it was voted by the general court that "Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached & dyvulged dyvers newe & dangerous opinions against the autchoritie of magistraites, as also writt letters of defamation, both of the magistrates & churches here, and that before any conviction, & yet mainetaineth the same without retraction, it is therefore ordered that the said Mr. Williams shall departe out of this jurisdiction within sixe weekes nowe nexte ensueing, which if hee neglect to perform, it shalbe lawfull for the Gouvernor & two of the magistraites to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to returne any more without licence from the Court." At this time, John Haynes was governor of Massachusetts and Haynes has been described as a man of "large estate and larger affection; of heavenly mind and spotless life." Unfortunately, he

Banishment

October 9–19

1635 lived in a somewhat uncongenial age and clime. On
1636 account of ill health and the approach of winter, permission was granted to Williams to remain at Salem until spring.

Flight from Salem

In a letter written to Major John Mason of Connecticut, in 1670, Williams says that Winthrop privately advised him "to steer his course to the Narragansett Bay," a region to which the latter had already made two visits. Possibly the suggestion of beginning a plantation in that region was talked over by Williams and some of his warmest friends—we do not know. But we do know that he kept on preaching in his characteristic style until he heard that, because he had been exhorting and proselyting in his own house, the general court had resolved to send him to England. Soon after this, Williams was summoned to appear forthwith before the court in Boston. Instead of obeying this citation, Williams made hasty preparation and, accompanied probably by one man, quietly left Salem. When, a few days later, Captain John Underhill arrived at Salem in a small sloop sent by the general court from Boston, the nest was empty; Roger Williams had

January 11, 1636

Roger Williams's Combination Compass and Sundial

flown into the night and the wilderness and the winter's snow. It was about a four days' journey from Salem to the home of Massasoit; the two had become "great friends" while Williams was living at Plymouth. Although attempts at identification have been made, we do not know the route that the exile took; he probably went

directly to his friend, the Wampanoag sachem, then living at what is now Warren in the state of Rhode Island. He later said that "for fourteen weeks he was sorely tost in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean," but, like others who had been there before him, he may have been "worse weary of his lodgings than of his journey." It is said that, in 1645, Governor Winthrop advised the court to recall Roger Williams but that his request was tabled. In 1676, while the King Philip war was raging, Massachusetts made a conditional offer of temporary shelter, as will be set forth more fully in the succeeding chapter. In 1876, and again in 1900, there were attempts to secure a revocation of the sentence but, in each case, the Massachusetts general court refused to take the action desired by the petitioners. 1636

The Founding of Rhode Island

The red man knew his friend and understood the spirit, if not the logic, of the Plymouth tract on Indian titles. On one of his former visits, as if with a foresight of coming events that smacks of worldly wisdom, Williams had made an agreement for lands beyond the limits of Massachusetts. As the Wampanoags and their chief sachem, Massasoit, were tributary to the Narragansetts, this agreement was made with Canonicus, the statesmanlike chief sachem of that powerful people. Williams now had no difficulty in securing lands on the east side of the Seekonk River, and with no other patent he began "to build and to plant." Here he was joined by four or five persons. A few miles away dwelt William Blackstone, late of Boston, now a hermit, hating "the lords brethren" of Massachusetts as much as he ever did "the lords bishops" of England. Blackstone was the pioneer, as Williams was the founder of Rhode Island. The Seekonk was the western boundary of the Plymouth colony and so Governor Winslow wrote to Williams that he and his companions were within the limits of the Plymouth grant. The party therefore moved down the Seekonk to the northwest arm of Narragansett Bay. Here, at the foot of a hill on the broad harbor, probably about the middle of April, 1636, he and his few

1636 1638 companions planted Providence, a "shelter for persons distressed for conscience" and the seed of another New England state. Here, before the end of summer, Mrs. Williams, with her two infant children, joined her husband. Other recruits came, some from Massachusetts and some from England, and the simplest form of a democracy was established.

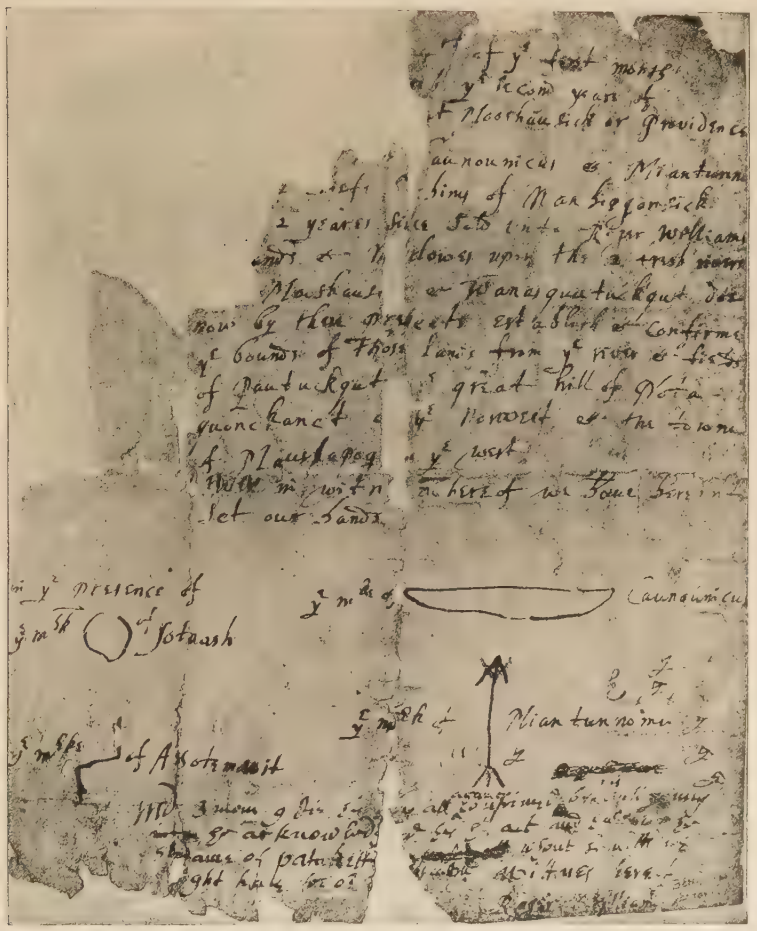
Land Titles

Again Williams obtained lands from Canonicus and Miantonomo, probably in accordance with the agreement of two or three years before. In November of the following year, Prudence Island in the bay was secured by purchase. In the following spring, the Narragansett sachems executed a deed confirming to Roger Williams the original "gift," later known as the Providence purchase, and adding thereto land extending southward to the Pawtuxet River and later known as the Pawtuxet purchase. The fact that these deeds were secured by Roger Williams in his own name made for him no little trouble with his neighbors; of course, the Indian titles had no validity in the eye of English law. A few months later, Williams executed a document commonly called the initial deed, by which he did "freely and fully pass, grant, and make over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing" the lands secured from the sachems unto twelve of his "loving friends and neighbors . . . and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us." Among these "loving friends and neighbors" was one William Harris of whom we shall hear again. Others were admitted into the fellowship and lands were assigned, each receiving a five-acre lot for dwelling and a six-acre lot for planting and, later on, enough of the general land to make a total of one hundred acres. Soon after the execution of the "initial deed," Williams agreed, in consideration of the payment to him of twenty pounds, that the unassigned lands on the Pawtuxet should pass to "the monopolizing twelve." This agreement was not hampered by any conditions, although it has been urged that Williams supposed that the lands were to be held in trust for the fellowship. At all events, the twelve at

March 24, 1638

October 8, 1638

once took possession as owners in severalty and, three 1636
years later, William Harris, William Arnold, William 1638
Carpenter, and Zachariah Rhodes moved thither. They were destined soon to make the acquaintance of one Samuel Gorton, a staunch constitutionalist who had no



The Original Deed of Providence by Miantonomo and other Chiefs to Roger Williams

regard for any land claim that did not rest on a royal patent, or for any authority that was not conformable to English common law.

1636
1638

A Compact of the Householders

In a letter from Williams to Winthrop, then deputy-governor of Massachusetts, undated as were many of his letters but probably written in the latter part of 1636, Williams said: "We haue no Patent: nor doth the face of Magistracie suite with our present condicion. Hitherto, the masters of ffamilies haue ordinarily mett once a fortnight & consulted about our common peace, watch, & planting; & mutuall consent hath finished all matters with speede & peace." This passage is especially interesting as it is the first account we have of the beginnings of civil government in Rhode Island. Continuing, Williams says: "Our dangers (in the midst of these dens of lyons) now especially call vpon vs to be compact in a civill way & power. I haue had thoughts of propounding to my neighbors a double subscription, concerning which I shall humbly craue your helpe. The first concerning our selues, the masters of families: thus: We whose names are here vnder written . . . doe with free & ioynt consent promise each vnto other that, for our common peace & wellfare (vntill we heare further of the Kings royall pleasure concerning our selues) we will from time to time subiect our selues in actiue or passiue obedience to such orders & agreements as shall be made by the greater number of the present howseholders, & such as shall be hereafter admitted by their consent into the same priviledge & covenant in our ordinarie meeting." Although this first written compact was not formally adopted, it was probably accepted as binding upon the new plantation. It is to be noted that it recognized the right that Massachusetts was exercising — the right of excluding undesirable persons, and that the democracy established by it was incomplete in that it simply recognized the equality of the members of a ruling class.

A Compact of Unmarried Men

But the associated householders did not include all of the adult male inhabitants. Williams wrote to Winthrop that "of late some young men, single persons (of whome we had much neede), being admitted to freedome of inhabitation . . . are discontented with their estate, & seeke the freedome of vote allso, & aequalitie." It is

probable that this feeling had an effect in shaping the second half of the "double subscription" that Williams submitted to Winthrop for "a word of private advise with the soonest convenience." The form proposed by Williams in his letter to Winthrop varies a little from the form in which it appears upon the town records. The compact was formally adopted, probably on the twentieth of August, 1637. This earliest Rhode Island compact of record reads as follows: 1636 1638

> We whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active and passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families — incorporated together in a Towne fellowship, *and others whom they shall admit unto them, only in civil things.*

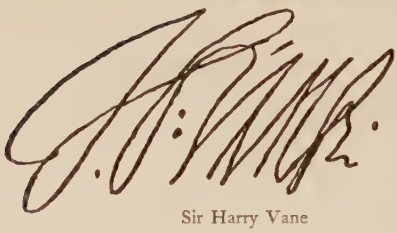
A New Corner-Stone

Here was a government with no executive or magistrate; with no court or any form of delegated power; but with freedom of conscience well safeguarded. For the first time in history, the doctrine of intellectual liberty was made the corner-stone of a political constitution. This is the great memorial of Roger Williams. Before long, came the Pequot war and Williams's unselfish service to the colony from which, like Hagar, he had been driven into the wilderness. In the wilderness, "the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the lad where he is. Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will make him a great nation." By this time, the Massachusetts militant theocracy was actively employed in forwarding recruits for the recalcitrant forces on the Narragansett frontier.

Governor Vane

As we soon shall see more clearly, the year 1635 was one of danger to Massachusetts. From England came a demand for the return of the charter and the Boston ministers advocated a political policy of procrastination. Henry Vane, the younger, often called Sir Harry Vane, son and heir of a privy councilor, had incurred his father's displeasure and, in that year of ill omen, thought that he was willing to forsake "the preferment of the court of Charles for the ordinances of religion in New

1636 England." A pretty fleck of cavalier color on a sombre
1638 Puritan canvas — a fresh-blown English rose blooming in a bed of New England immortelles, he was, in 1636, elected by the delighted Massachusetts freemen as their governor for the following year. "He was," says Clarendon, "a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding," but he was not imbued with the spirit of the Massachusetts Puritans. In the few months that intervened between the coming of the patrician Vane and the flight of the banished Williams, the two men met and began a friendship that was warm and long-enduring and that proved to be potent in the shaping of the new plantation in the Narragansett country.



Sir Harry Vane

Hugh Peters

In 1635 also came Hugh Peters, a Cambridge graduate who had taken orders and had been imprisoned by Archbishop Laud for nonconformity. In December, 1636, he became pastor of the church at Salem and at once disclaimed the doctrines and excommunicated the adherents of his predecessor. He took an active part in political and mercantile affairs and, as a strong, coarse man is likely to do, made many enemies. In his history of *The American Merchant Marine*, Mr. Marvin says that, in 1641, Peters built at Salem "a prodigious ship of three hundred tons" — an illustration of the courage of one "who sought to foster the trade as well as to save the souls of his Salem parishioners, and went home to uphold the hands of Cromwell, and finally to die on the gibbet at Charing Cross, a martyr of the restoration." In this interval between Salem and Charing Cross, he was to make more trouble for Roger Williams.

1634
1636

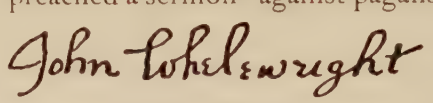
An Unwelcome Theology

In 1634, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson had followed her favorite minister, John Cotton, from England to Massachusetts, "three thousand miles through ten thousand dangers." Some of her fellow passengers on shipboard were shocked by her doctrines, many of which seemed heretical or fanatical. She was able and witty, ambitious of influence and fond of debate — a very Joan of Arc of polemic theology. In her Boston home at what is now the corner of Washington and School streets, the site of "the old corner book-store," she set up what one writer calls "the Hutchinson school of exegesis," and another "the Hutchinson *viva voce* weekly religious review." She put forward her Antinomian views so skilfully that ere long it seemed as if Massachusetts had gone mad over the difference between a covenant of grace and a covenant of works. Old friends were alienated and the community was divided into hostile camps in each of which much time was wasted in throwing ugly names at honest neighbors. One of these parties was composed in great part of the original settlers who, having laid the foundations of their civil government, desired to preserve what they had builded. Prominent among the leaders of this faction were Governor Winthrop, who had an especial dislike for Mrs. Hutchinson, and Pastor Wilson. On the other side were chiefly the newcomers who, not having wrought in early morning, cared less for Massachusetts institutions and resisted every form of intellectual despotism. With them logic was superior to law and they would yield not one iota of their claim for the paramount authority of private judgment. These ideas were not in unison with the policy of those who had founded a government on the basis of church-membership.

The Triumph of Massachusetts Orthodoxy

Anne Hutchinson had a mild sort of husband and this husband's sister's husband was John Wheelwright. Wheelwright was a Cambridge graduate and one of Laud's "silenced" ministers who would do his share of talking. He arrived at Boston in June, 1636. By this time, Anne Hutchinson and Governor Vane led what seemed to be a majority of Boston in what looked like a revolt against the

1637 clergy. On a fast-day for the reconciliation of the brethren
January 29 and in spite of the governor's remonstrance, Wheelwright preached a sermon "against pagans and anti-Christians, and those that runne under a covenant of works." In March, the general court declared the Braintree minister guilty of contempt and sedition, deferred sentence, and, because of the unsympathetic disposition of the Boston people, changed its seat to Newtown (Cambridge). The choice of magistrates that year turned on
May 17–27 such issues. On election day, the excitement was intense and, said Winthrop, "some laid hands on others." A petition from Boston was denied a hearing. Vane and his followers refused to play their part and Pastor Wilson climbed a tree to harangue the people, the meeting being held in the open air. Orthodoxy won and "all the adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson were left out." Vane
August 3 soon returned to England, where he became an influential member of the Long Parliament and one of its colonial commissioners.



Autograph of Wheelwright

The Banishment of Anne Hutchinson

At the end of August, 1637, a synod of magistrates and ministers convened at Newtown (the first Cambridge synod). It won over to an uncompromising orthodoxy John Cotton who had been suspected of Antinomian tendencies but who now saw light and recovered all his former splendor. It also condemned the teachings of Anne Hutchinson and ordered her meetings discontinued. She refused obedience and the general court had to interfere. Vane's departure and Cotton's defection weakened the Hutchinson faction and, when the court
November 2–12 met, the triumphant theocracy took rigorous measures to secure the fruits of victory and to entrench itself behind a permanent majority. Mr. Wheelwright was "disfranchized & banished, haveing 14 dayes to settle his affaires." An appeal was refused and Wheelwright became the founder of Exeter, New Hampshire. William Coddington who had been "left out" of the magistracy at the late election was now present as one of the deputies. For

"affirming that Mr. Wheeleright is innocent & that hee was persecuted for the truth," William Aspinwall and John Coggeshall were unceremoniously unseated as members of the court, "& order was given for two new deputies to bee chosen by the towne of Boston." In addition, Aspinwall was "convented for haveing his hand to a petition or remonstrance, being a seditious libell, & iustifiing the same, for which and for his insolent & turbulent carriage, hee is disfranchized and banished." Mr. Coggeshall "was disfranchized, & enioyned not to speake any thing to disturbe the publicke peace, vpon paine of banishment." Then, so runs the record, "Mrs. Hutchinson (the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson), being convented for traduceing the ministers and their ministery in this country, shee declared volentarily her revelations for her ground, & that shee should bee delivred & the Court ruined, with their posterity, & therevpon was banished." Great importance was given to the allegation that, on her examination, Mrs. Hutchinson admitted that she received "revelations." Winthrop wrote: "God hath made her to lay open herself and the ground of all these disturbances to be by revelations." 1637

Antinomians Disfranchised

The chief offenders being thus disposed of, the court turned its attention to the heterodox rank and file. Those who, like William Dyer, had put "hand to the seditious libell called a petition or remonstrance" were disfranchised. Some of them were also fined, others were "discharged from bearing any publike office," and some were imprisoned. The unique John Underhill was "disfranchized & put from the captaines place." Some of the weaker ones did "acknowledge their sin . . . & it was yelded them that their hands should bee crossed out." The next step was for the court to decree that, "Whereas the opinions & revelations of Mr. Wheeleright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced & led into dangerous errors many of the people heare in Newe England, insomuch as there is iust cause of suspition that they, as others [Anabaptists] in Germany, in former times, may, vpon some revelation, make some suddaine irruption vpon those that

Antinomians Disarmed

1637 1638 differ from them in iudgment, for prevention whereof it is ordered that all those whose names are vnderwritten shall (vpon warning given or left at their dwelling houses) before the 30th day of this Month of November, deliver in at Mr. Canes house, at Boston, all such guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot, & match as they shal bee owners of, or have in their custody, vpon paine of ten pound for every default to bee made thereof." The list of persons thus to be disarmed included the irrepressible John Underhill, the estimable John Clarke, and fifty-seven more from Boston, five from Salem, three from Newbury, five from Roxbury, two from Ipswich, and two from Charlestown.

William Coddington

Having thus laid hand to the work of rooting out the dangerous heresy, the Puritan would not be true to himself unless he did it as thoroughly as Archbishop Laud had done his work. The general court therefore ordered its summons to be issued to William Coddington and others notifying them that "Whereas you have desired and obtained licence to remove yourselves & your families out of this iurisdiction . . . the Court doth therefore order that you may depart according to the licence given you, so as your families bee removed before the next Generall Court; but if your families bee not so removed, then you are to appear at the next Court to abide the further order of the Courte herein." As will appear further on, Coddington and his followers were, at this time, beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The summons herein referred to gave, as a pretext for the action taken, "that information hath bene given to the Court that your intent is onely to withdrawe youreselues for a season that you may avoyde the censure of the Court in some things which may bee objected against you." The fourscore heresies that the synod had found lurking in the doctrine that a covenant of grace was the only way to salvation must, with the Lord's help, be scattered to the wind. Surely we need not wonder that Coddington and Clarke had anticipated Winthrop and Dudley and were then with Roger Williams and beyond reach of the heavy hand of the "lords brethren at the Bay."

March 12, 1637=March 22, 1638

1638

The Puritan Policy

Men have not yet agreed upon the wisdom and the justice of the general policy of the Massachusetts Puritans; probably they never will. That policy was narrow and strict; it is not certain that it could safely have been made more lenient and flexible. It has been often said that they sought a wilderness that there they might establish the principles of civil and religious liberty and transmit the same inviolate to their remotest posterity. Instead of this they sought a land of liberty for *themselves and others of like mind.* They had come three thousand miles that they might make a better England. When they had builded such a state, they felt that they had a right to preserve and to enjoy it. They had but faint ideas of civil or religious liberty, as we understand them, or as they were understood among the republicans of Holland, who had long before started on the journey. It is easy to say that a wider toleration would not have been attended with the imagined danger. Possibly the danger was not wholly imaginary; "perhaps Utopia must always have its supplemental Narragansett." Winthrop, Dudley, Endecott, and Cotton were, like Cromwell, great enough to stand forth and be "painted without the concealment of a defect or the exaggeration of a virtue," but the records of those November sessions of the Massachusetts general court are not pleasant reading even for a lineal descendant of the deputy governor then present.

The Stocks and Pillory

The Exiled Heresies

After the defeat of Vane by Winthrop in the brisk election for governor of Massachusetts, the country around Narragansett Bay became a place of refuge for many whom the elder commonwealth would no longer

1638 tolerate, or who would no longer endure the domination of the "lords brethren at the Bay." With many who suffered much and honestly for their devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, came some whom Mr. Gay has described as "half crazed with those teeming maggots of the brain which so breed in times of exasperating religious controversy," and others who were possessed by harmless whims, who

> . . . changed their minds,
> Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell.

The "pestilent heresies" were said by some to number one hundred and six; by others, two hundred and ten. Mr. Richman says that it was a time of Tom, Dick, and Harry turned preacher, that in Providence a new religion was as welcome as in ancient days was a new philosophy at Athens, and that the dislike for religious novelties manifested by the theocracy dominant at Boston was the means of diverting thence the stream of inspired tanners and tailors and tapsters, and of pouring it into the plantations of what became Rhode Island.

The Purchase of Aquidneck

In 1614, the Dutch navigator, Adrian Block, had explored Narragansett Bay, and named its largest island Roode Eylandt (Red Island). But Block had not come back and Verrazano and the Northmen had forfeited their titles. On the advice of the Plymouth magistrates and with the friendly aid of Roger Williams, the island then called Aquidneck was bought from Canonicus and Miantonomo for William Coddington and his associates. Coddington had been named in the charter as one of the original assistants for the Massachusetts company and had come to Salem with Winthrop in 1630. Having been dropped from the roll of Massachusetts magistrates and subsequently warned to remove his family from the colony before the next meeting of the general court, he and John Clarke led a party southward. Clarke was a physician lately arrived from England and destined to become the chief diplomatic agent of the new commonwealth.

March 24

The Planting of Pocasset

Among the followers of Coddington and Clarke were Aspinwall, Coggeshall, and William the husband of Anne

Hutchinson. Twelve of the nineteen had been members of the Boston church and sixteen of them had been disarmed by order of the Massachusetts court. While they were still at Providence, they signed their first compact of government, incorporating themselves into a body politic and agreeing to "submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords," and to be guided and judged by "His holy word of truth." After the old Jewish pattern, they chose Coddington as chief ruler with the title of judge, Aspinwall as secretary, and William Dyer as clerk. The plantation thus began its existence under conditions materially different from those created by the Providence compact, authority taking the place of individualism and organs of function being provided. Early in April, the company made their first settlement on the northern end of their island, at Pocasset, now called Portsmouth. Among the early rules adopted in town-meeting was one that "none should be received as inhabitants or Freemen, to build or plant upon the Island, but such as should be received in by the consent of the Body"—a duplication of the offensive Massachusetts rule. But sinners came as well as saints and the original and simple theocratic style of government soon proved to be inadequate. After nine months' trial, the constitution was modified by providing for the judge a council of three elders who seem to have had "the functions of an equity court without the power of enforcing its decisions." Provision was also made for quarterly meetings of the body politic with a power of veto for the freemen — another step in the direction of democracy.

1638

March 7

January 2, 1639

The Excommunication of Anne Hutchinson

Mrs. Hutchinson had been banished from Massachusetts in November, 1637, but the court had been considerate enough to defer her actual removal for a time. In March, 1638, her husband had signed the Aquidneck compact at Providence. About a week after that, the Boston church proclaimed her excommunicate and delivered up to Satan. She then lost little time in following her husband to Pocasset. That summer there was a

1638 1639 considerable exodus of "Antinomians and heretics in general from the uncongenial air of Massachusetts." In the words of Governor Winthrop, "many of Boston, and others who were of Mistress Hutchinson's judgment and party, removed to the Isle of Aquiday; and others, who were of the rigid separation and savored Anabaptism, removed to Providence." About this time, "the disintegrating influence of Anne Hutchinson" was reinforced by the arrival from Plymouth of one Samuel Gorton, who was destined to become a thorn in the flesh of the weak theocracy at Pocasset and of the powerful theocracy at Massachusetts Bay. These newcomers strengthened the democratic element that was beginning to find its voice and alarmed the autocrats who had begun the plantation. In May, 1639, Governor Winthrop wrote: "At Aquiday the people grew very tumultuous, and put out Mr. Coddington and the three other magistrates, and chose Mr. Hutchinson only, a man of a very mild temper and weak parts."

Map of Early Rhode Island Settlements

Newport

The facts that underlay Winthrop's statement were that the judge and the three elders and the clerk who made up the Coddington government, with John Clarke and a few others, had scented the dangerous presence. At the end of April, they withdrew from Pocasset, taking the official records with them. By the middle of May, they were at the other end of the island laying the

foundations of a new plantation that was named Newport. It soon became more populous and wealthy than any other settlement in the Narragansett country. 1639 1642

The democratic remnant that Coddington left at Pocasset, at least thirty-one of them, entered anew into compact, as members of a "Civil Body Politic" and "the legal subjects of King Charles." William Hutchinson was elected chief magistrate, with eight assistants who were constituted a court for the trial of causes. Samuel Gorton was received into fellowship — evidence of an existing democratic sentiment that had proved intolerable to the theocratic party who had seceded only a day or two before.

The Pocasset Democracy

April 30, 1639

All the Aquidneck lands had been transferred to a single corporation and both of the island towns soon saw that neither was ready for permanent separation from the other. Before the coming of cold weather, negotiations for a reunion were begun, the late secessionists acknowledging that they were subjects of the king and ordering a letter sent to Sir Harry Vane requesting him "to treate about the obtaining a Patent of the Island from his Majesty." The result of these overtures was that Portsmouth and Newport were soon united under a single government, with Coddington as governor and William Hutchinson as one of his four assistants. The name Pocasset was changed to Portsmouth and, within a year, the victorious democracy put on the records of their general court a formal order "that none be accounted a delinquent for Doctrine." In the following year the court forbade the sale of lands to any outside party — the effect of recent action taken by a faction of the Providence settlers in putting themselves and their estates under the protection of Massachusetts, as will be more fully related a little further on. It was also decided "to treat with the Governor of the Dutch to supply us with necessaries and to take of our commodities at such rates as may be suitable." Coddington, Clarke, and the Hutchinsons made a combination that was intolerable to the Boston brethren and the Massachusetts Puritans had refused to have

Union of the Island Towns

March 12, 1639-1640

March, 1640-1641

September 19, 1642

1641 anything to do with the "confusion worse confounded"
1643 at Narragansett Bay.

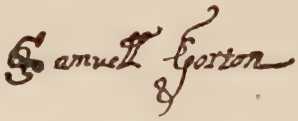
The Death of Mrs. Hutchinson

The union of the island towns had been opposed by Mrs. Hutchinson and by Samuel Gorton. Mr. Hutchinson died in 1642, and Mrs. Hutchinson removed beyond New Haven to lands supposed to be within the territory of the Dutch. In 1643, she and most of her children and servants perished in an Indian massacre. The Massachusetts Puritans who had excommunicated her and given her over to the Devil had long been unable to understand why the Lord's lightning did not strike her and, according to Mr. Richman, at least one of them "was disposed openly to take the Deity to task for permitting Mistress Hutchinson to live untutored even by remorse." But now, "God had at last done his full duty by his church." As to Gorton, he had taken occasion to accuse the court of perverting justice and "had stopped the way with such insolency that the Governor was forced to rise from the Bench to helpe forward the Command with his person." When Coddington called out, "You that are for the King, lay hold on Gorton," Gorton called back, "You that are for the King, lay hold on Coddington." For this and that, Gorton was whipped and banished from Aquidneck.

Gorton Banished from Aquidneck

Samuel Gorton

Samuel Gorton has been variously described by historians as a "benevolent enthusiast," "a sincere and courageous but incoherent and crochetty man," and "a notorious disturber of the peace" who had lived at Boston, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Providence, whipped once and nowhere welcome. An aggressive agitator and "one of the army of irregular preachers," he was followed from Portsmouth to Providence by several of his converts. Here "he merely let it be known by a fulmination or two that a new religion had come to town" and so many ran after him and it that John Cotton taunted Williams with being deserted for "a more prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties." Gorton soon made himself so



Autograph of Gorton

offensive, not to say politically dangerous, to the landed proprietors that William Harris and a dozen other inhabitants of Providence asked Massachusetts, as a matter of "gentle courtesy and for the preservation of humanity and mankind, . . . to lend a neighborlike helping hand" to the end that they might get rid of him. Winthrop discreetly answered that "except they did subject themselves to some jurisdiction, either Plymouth or ours, we had no calling or warrant to interfere in their contentions."

1641–1643

November 17, 1641

The Arnold Coterie

About a year after this, four of the Pawtuxet proprietors, namely, William Arnold, his son Benedict Arnold, his son-in-law William Carpenter, and Robert Cole, acted on the suggestion contained in Winthrop's answer and put themselves and their lands under the protection of Massachusetts. Prior to this, Gorton had moved from Providence to Pawtuxet and, when notice was received from the authorities of the Puritan colony to the effect that the petition of the four had been granted, the arch-agitator "drew his pen, assorted his vocabulary (always rich), and set to work to tell Massachusetts his mind." After he had sent his note to Boston and learned that William Arnold had been commissioned by Massachusetts as justice of the peace, Gorton and ten of his adherents bought lands at Shawomet, twelve miles further southward. In January, 1643, they moved thither. Here they surely would be free from any interference by the Massachusetts theocrats.

A Massachusetts Protectorate

The deed for the Shawomet lands was signed by Miantonomo as lord proprietor and by Pumham, the local sachem. But the "Arnold coterie" who had put the Pawtuxet lands under the protection of Massachusetts seem to have had an unappeased land hunger and to have cast a longing eye upon the Shawomet region. At all events, in May, 1643, the younger Arnold, with two subordinate sachems, Pumham of Shawomet and Saconono of Pawtuxet, appeared at Boston. Here the two "notorious rascal sachems" proffered their submission to the authority of Massachusetts. The Massachusetts authorities were

1643 only too ready to be pleased with any plan that would enable them to lay their hands upon the blasphemers of any of the Narragansett settlements and promptly sent word for Miantonomo and Gorton to appear at Boston to show reason why their claims to their lands should not be held invalid. Miantonomo obeyed the summons but Gorton sent a long letter that Winthrop says was "full of reproaches against our magistrates, elders, and churches." In June, the subordinate sachems formally put themselves "voluntarily" under the government and jurisdiction of Massachusetts and promised "to be willing from time to time to be instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." This gave a color of religious warrant to the transaction and left no reasonable doubt as to what men like the Massachusetts magistrates would do. The first effect, as somewhat flippantly described by Mr. Richman, was that the two sachem neophytes "laden with gifts, and filled with the spirit of the Puritan Church Militant — if not with a spirit of still higher potency — returned home breathing forth threatenings and slaughter against heretics. Henceforth it was hot times at Shawomet."

The Capture of the Gortonites

Gorton was not a man who would endure everything without retaliating and so the Arnolds and the protégé sachems had to call for help. The Massachusetts general court, therefore, summoned Gorton and his company to Boston and Gorton sent "To the Great and Honored Idol General now set up in the Massachusetts" the general answer of lack of jurisdiction. His elaboration of this idea was copious in ribaldry and glittering in defiance. A second summons was sent with the assurance that if obedience was not yielded, "we must right ourselves and our people by force of arms." Promptly the dozen hurled defiance at the whole of Massachusetts Bay! Then Massachusetts sent a minister and forty soldiers and, in the end, Gorton and his companions were marched off as captives. At this time, Roger Williams was in England seeking a royal patent for Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport.

September 12–22

Persecution

After the prisoners arrived at Boston, a party was sent to Shawomet "to fetch so many of their cattle as might

defray the charges." The prisoners were tried as "damnable heretics." The usual clerical consultation resulted in a recommendation of the sentence of death, but the deputies were more merciful than the ministers and the assistants. The twelve were dispersed among the several towns of Massachusetts, put at hard labor in irons, and commanded "not, by word or writing, to maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death." But Gorton would talk, the people would listen, and "the court, finding that Gorton and his company did harm in towns where they were confined, and not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them fourteen days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death." The prescribed fortnight was ample for the inoculation of a province and, three days later, Gorton and his missionary band were ordered "to depart out of the town before noon this day." The citizens of Portsmouth, who had banished Gorton as an offensive agitator, gave him an enthusiastic welcome when, shut out from Providence and Shawomet, he returned to them as a martyr at the hands of the Massachusetts theocrats who, as they well knew and as Winthrop said, were desirous of "drawing in the rest in those parts who now lived under no government but grew very offensive," and with a clear recognition of the fact that the region thus to be drawn in "was likely to be of use to us." Gorton soon went to England and told his tale to the commissioners of parliament. His title was confirmed; the attempted "land grab" was a failure; and, in gratitude, Shawomet was renamed Warwick.

1643
1644

March, 1644

Restitution

As already pointed out, the general court of Aquidneck, seeking a royal patent, had decided to send a letter to Sir Henry Vane. It was later decided to send an agent and, for many reasons, the choice fell upon Roger Williams, the warm friend of Sir Henry. In some way not now apparent, the mainland plantation joined with the island towns and Williams set out as the diplomatic agent of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport. The

Williams's Diplomatic Mission

1643 May 19–29 New England confederation had just been formed and Rhode Island had been excluded therefrom. As Williams was under banishment from Massachusetts, he took ship from New Amsterdam.

Seeking a Royal Patent

When, in midsummer of 1643, Roger Williams landed in England, king and commons were at war. Of the principle of freedom of conscience, Williams was a high priest, and of the Independent leaders in the mother country Vane, Cromwell, and Milton had developed on that side nearly to the stature of the Massachusetts exile. Williams knew Vane and, through Vane, had easy access to Cromwell whose shadow was already looming large over English history. In November, the Long Parliament appointed a new board of colonial commissioners. At the head of this board was the earl of Warwick and among its members were Vane, Cromwell, and Pym, as stated in the second chapter of this volume. To this Warwick commission Williams made application for a royal patent for the Narragansett plantations.

The Narragansett Patent

While Williams was engaged in seeking the patent and in writing and publishing books and pamphlets in exemplification and justification of his principles, two Massachusetts representatives, the Reverend Hugh Peters and the Reverend Thomas Welde who had been sent over, as Winthrop records, "to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the country here," secured the signatures of nine of the colonial commissioners to a document known as the Narragansett patent, by the terms of which the Narragansett country was annexed to Massachusetts. But this attempt proved to be abortive. The document had not the signatures of a majority of the board, it is said that there is "no such thing upon record," and the president of the board subsequently testified that it "had never past the table." In spite of its little worth, Welde sent it to Massachusetts and Massachusetts used it as the foundation of a notice to her unappreciated neighbors to give up their pretended jurisdiction in the Narragansett country. To the recital of the story, Mr. Richman adds the remark that the notice

December

"was in common parlance a mere bluff; and as such, and a failure besides, was not repeated." 1643 1644

In the end, Williams got the patent for which he had asked. To the friendship of Vane and the support of Cromwell and parliamentary favor won by "the printed Indian labors of Roger Williams, the like whereof was not extant from any part of America," was largely due the success of the Rhode Island envoy. Without any grant of lands, the three plantations were chartered as the "Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England." In July, Marston Moor became historic and the parliamentary cause triumphant. The Massachusetts exile of January, 1636, returned to Boston in September, 1644, under the protection of a missive from "divers lords and others of the parliament," to the Massachusetts authorities, and the bearer of the freest colonial charter that had ever yet been granted. He was welcomed at the banks of the Seekonk with great enthusiasm and made an almost triumphal entry into the colony that he had planted. In the same year, the first Baptist church of Newport was organized with John Clarke as its teacher. Of course, these things were not pleasing to the Massachusetts Puritans and, in October, 1645, their general court voted that Mr. Peters and Mr. Welde, "having been long absent, may understand the Court's mind that they desire their presence here and speedy return."

Patent for Providence Plantations

March 14, 1643=March 24, 1644

The charter that Williams had brought back gave to the three towns named "full Power and Authority to rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any Part of the said Tract of land, by such a Form of Civil Government as, by voluntary consent of all, or the greater Part of them, they shall find most suitable to their Estate and Condition," and to make laws "conformable to the Laws of England, so far as the Nature and Constitution of the place will admit."

Liberal Terms

Soon after the return of the Gortonists from their Massachusetts captivity, and learning wisdom from the examples of the Pawtuxet quartet and of Pumham and

The Submission of Canonicus

1644
1650

April 19, 1644

Saconono co, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts formally put himself and his possessions under "the protection and government of that worthy and royal Prince Charles, King of Great Britain and Ireland, to be ruled, ordered and disposed of according to his Princely wisdom, and the laws of honourable State of Old England, *upon condition of his Majesty's royal protection and righting of us in what wrong is or may be done unto us.*" While Gorton was in England (he did not return until the spring of 1648), the somewhat aristocratic and now altogether ill-satisfied Coddington was plotting with Massachusetts. In fact, Providence and Newport had already come to stand for differing fundamental notions and it took time and effort to bring about a formal organization of the Providence plantations under the patent.

Colonial Government Begun

On the nineteenth of May, 1647, the inhabitants of the mainland towns of Providence and Warwick and the island towns of Portsmouth and Newport met in convention or mass-meeting at Portsmouth to put the new government into operation. This convention of 1647 outlined the territorial limits of the new commonwealth, decreed that Warwick should have "the same privileges as Providence" — thus adding a fourth to the three towns named in the charter, and in compliance with the characteristic demand of Providence, that each town should "have full power and authoritye to transacte all [its] home affaires." Among the fruits of this union of the four separate communities was the introduction of a new judicial system.

The Elaboration of a Commonwealth

Similar conventions were held in May of 1648, 1649, and 1650. Step by step, a frame of government with legislative, judicial, and executive departments was worked out and a code of laws was enacted and a bill of rights adopted. An interesting feature of the legislative system was what is now well known as "the initiative and the referendum," the initiative being a function of either town or court and the referendum appertaining to the several towns. The legal code declared that "the forme of Government established in Providence Plantations is Demo-

craticall, that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of the free inhabitants. . . . All men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God." Thus were civil and religious liberty built into the foundations of the state. The experiment of popular sovereignty was to be made. 1647 1650

Democracy on Trial

The conditions of society were peculiar and not wholly favorable for a successful issue of the trial. As to religious diversity, there were "Anabaptists and Antinomians, fanatics and infidels, as enemies asserted; so that if a man had lost his religious opinions, he might have been sure to find them again in some village of Rhode Island."

> A motley host, the Lord's *debris*,
> Faith's odds and ends together!

The political elements were similarly incongruous. Here were royalists and adherents of parliament with a mutual hatred washed a little thin by the intervening leagues of ocean. With such components of a state in which all were equal, it is not strange that harmony was sometimes marred and that the distinction between liberty and license was occasionally obscured. The friends of Williams feared the failure of his bold attempt to reconcile liberty and law.

Coddington's Disloyalty

At the annual "folk-moots," the inhabitants chose by "papers," i.e., by ballot, a president, one assistant from each of the four towns, and other general officers. At the session held at Providence in 1648, Coddington was elected president and, at the same session, he was on "divers bills of complaint" suspended from office. It is thought that Coddington's chief offense lay in giving aid and comfort to Massachusetts in its efforts to reduce Warwick under its authority. In September of that year, Coddington made an unsuccessful attempt to detach the island towns from the Providence Plantations by sending a petition to the commissioners of the New England confederation "that wee the Islanders of Roode Iland may be received into combination with all the united Colonyes of New England in a firme and perpetuall League of

1647 1650 friendship and amity, of offence and defence, Mutuall advice and succor." In view of the organization of a government under the patent of 1644, it seems impossible to deny that "this attempt to dismember the territory of the commonwealth was, in the eye of both law and politics, nothing short of treasonable."

A Representative Assembly

In sharp contrast with Coddington's conduct was that of Roger Williams. Soon after his return from England, he opened a trading-house near the site of Wickford. In the general court, he was assistant from Providence in 1647 and 1648, and, in 1649, he was chosen deputy-president "in the absence of the president." In June, 1647, he closed the eyes of Canonicus, "the last real king of the Narragansetts." By 1650, the population of the Providence Plantations had so increased that the annual convention of the inhabitants became cumbersome and an act was passed creating a representative system, each of the four towns to choose six discreet and able men "to have the full power of the Generall Assemblie." This newly constituted court held its first meeting in the following October.

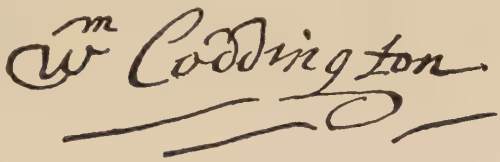
May, 1650

The Coddington Usurpation

After his removal in 1648 from the presidency of the Providence Plantations and after the refusal of the commissioners of the New England confederacy to accept the island that he had proffered unless it came in as part of Plymouth or of Massachusetts, Coddington set out for England. There he found Hugh Peters who had disobeyed the recall of the Massachusetts general court and was now one of the preachers before the council of state, the Rump Parliament's substitute for the Warwick commission in charge of colonial affairs. As he was one of the procurers of the abortive "Narragansett patent" of 1643, we need not doubt that Peters was glad to aid Coddington in his proposed attack on the patent of 1644 which, in spite of him, Roger Williams had obtained. At all events, Coddington's petition soon appeared before the council of state and, on the third of April, 1651, a commission was issued making him governor for life "of Acquedneck alias Rhode Island and Quinunnugate [Conanicut]

October, 1648

island," with authority "to raise forces for defence; to appoint annually not more than six Councellors to be nominated by the freeholders of the towns of Newport and Portsmouth; and to tender the engagement to councillors as well as electors." By August, Coddington was back at Newport with his new commission, the report of which filled the colony with consternation and indignation. 1651 1654



Autograph of Coddington

The Coddington Commission Revoked

At Providence it seems to have been assumed that the Coddington commission annulled the patent for the Providence plantations, and arrangements were made to send Roger Williams back to England to seek a new charter for the two mainland towns. In a similar spirit, the freemen of Portsmouth and Newport resolved to send John Clarke over the sea to secure the revocation of Coddington's commission. Clarke had recently returned from a visit to Salem and Boston somewhat ripened by experiences that will be more fully set forth in a later chapter of this volume. In England, the two diplomats received the assistance of Sir Henry Vane and, in the following year, the offensive commission was annulled and the "Magistrates and free inhabitants of Providence Plantations" were authorized, "for the present and until further direction and order to be given by the Parliament or this Council for settling that Colony, . . . to take care for the peace and quiet thereof." "Under God, the sheet-anchor of Rhode Island was Sir Henry." This order was brought back by William Dyer who had accompanied Clarke as his private secretary. Williams did not return until the summer of 1654; for the next ten years, Clarke remained in England to protect the interests of the colony.

October 2, 1652

The Plantations Reunited

As each of the four towns had begun its existence as an independent state, even the nominal sovereignty of Great Britain having no existence prior to the granting of the

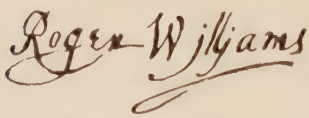
1654 1657 patent of 1644, and as the towns had a chronic distrust of delegated authority, and as some of the measures taken by the assembly of the island towns were intolerable to the mainland towns, such as beginning by land and sea a quixotic war upon the Dutch, as recorded in a previous chapter, it was not easy to bring the four plantations together as a reunited colony in obedience to the provisional order sent from England in 1652. But on the thirty-first of August, 1654, the towns agreed upon "ye re-unitinge." The patent of 1644 was recognized as in full force and an election was ordered for the twelfth of September following. At this election, the lately returned Roger Williams was chosen president. In the following spring, Oliver Cromwell, the lord protector of the British commonwealth, gave permanency to the temporary order of 1652, annulling the Coddington commission and restoring the government of the Providence Plantations under their patent. Having played his last card, Coddington appeared at Newport and made full submission "to ye authoritie of his Highness in this Colonie, as it is now united, and that with all my heart." Williams was reëlected and held the presidency until May, 1657, when he was succeeded by Benedict Arnold.

March 29, 1655

March 11, 1656

Responsibility and Conservatism

President Williams of the Providence Plantations did not measure up to the idea of the rights of the individual on the political side as well as Roger Williams of Salem and Providence had measured up to the idea of freedom of conscience in matters of religion. Because of that failure, it has become a somewhat trite remark that Williams was not the first man, nor the last, to discover that it is one thing to conduct an opposition and another thing to carry on a government. Among the things that forced Williams into a formal statement of his political principles, including a clause that has been and is the occasion of regret to his most ardent admirers, was a riot at Providence in the winter of 1654–55 and a public affirmation of the doctrine that "it is blood-guiltiness and



Autograph of Roger Williams

against the rule of the gospel to execute judgment upon transgressors against the public or the private weal." 1657

A Defective Doctrine

Under such circumstances, Williams sent a letter to his townsmen of Providence in which he likened the commonwealth to a ship with crew and passengers made up of Papists, Protestants, Jews, and Turks. The captain of such a ship would have no right to compel the passengers and the crew to join in his devotions or to give up their own, but "if any of the seamen refuse to perform their services, or passengers to pay their freight; . . . if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship; . . . if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commander and officers; *if any should preach or write* that there ought to be no commander and officers because all are equal in Christ; . . . I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors according to their deserts and merits." Of course, the regret arises from the fact that herein Williams failed to distinguish between opinion and advocacy on the one hand, and overt action on the other—a distinction that was tenderly cherished and safeguarded in America for generations, until, in a later century, it ran full tilt against a congressional enactment.

Theoretical Anarchy

William Harris had come to America in the ship that first brought Roger Williams. We have seen that he was one of the "loving friends and neighbors" to whom, in 1638, Williams had assigned the Pawtuxet lands and that a few years later he made his home upon his allotment there. In 1656, Harris published a vituperative, anarchistic allegory—Mr. Richman calls it "the fruit of his poverty-stricken years in the wilderness," for Harris was land-poor. For this public denunciation of all public institutions, President Williams had his one-time "loving friend and neighbor" arrested on the charge of an "open defiance against the charter, all our lands and Court, the Parliament and Lord Protector and all government." The case was to be taken up by the general assembly at

March 10

1657 1660 its session at Newport in the following May, but Williams did not appear to prosecute it. It was therefore continued to the following fourth of July when the court of commissioners was to meet at Warwick and the ex-president was required "there to appeare and to make out his charge against William Harris face to face." The result of the Warwick hearing was that Harris was found to have been "both contemptuous and seditious." But there were doubts in regard to the impeachment for high treason and so Harris was put under bonds in the sum of five hundred pounds sterling and the case was referred to the authorities in England. The prosecution was never carried further, for the ship by which the papers were sent to England went to the bottom of the ocean.

The Foundations Finished

Arnold held the presidency until May, 1660, the persecution of the Quakers by the Massachusetts Puritans adding to the difficulties of his administration. The story of that persecution will be told in a later chapter. For the present, it is enough to say that the eccentricities of the Quakers, added to the "trials incident to counselling and governing such a political and religious chaos as was Providence Plantations" goaded Roger Williams into the expression of other sentiments that are difficult to adjust nicely to his earlier attitude as the great exponent of freedom of conscience. But the people of the colony made compensation in this respect for the shortcomings of the founder of the colony. Roger Williams made good the case of liberty on its religious side; the people of the Providence Plantations made it good on the civil side.

The Retort Courteous

We need not linger long over the further details of the making of Rhode Island. The character of the commonwealth had been fixed. To an extent that was not duplicated in the English colonies in America, freedom of conscience and the rights of man had been built into the foundations of the little republic on Narragansett Bay. When "a cursed sect of heretics" came to trouble Massachusetts and the four united colonies asked their oft-snubbed sister to join them in anti-Quaker legislation and joined to the request the important intimation that

unless they complied an embargo would be enacted against them — an interdiction of intercolonial commercial intercourse that would be very detrimental to the Providence Plantations — the faithful assembly made the to-be-expected answer; they would not punish any man for freely speaking what he thought about religion; "these people begin to loathe this place for that they are not opposed by the civil authority." This was a psychological paradox to Massachusetts Puritans. 1657 1663 October 13, 1657

Although the colony was at a disadvantage caused by the refusal of the united colonies to admit her to their confederacy and notwithstanding the great expense of hiring agents to protect it from the surrounding colonies who wished to crush it, Rhode Island continued to grow in population, wealth, and strength. At the restoration, Charles II. was promptly proclaimed. Without loss of time, the acts of the Long Parliament were abrogated and an application for a new charter was made. In England, John Clarke came in conflict with Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, but he found a friend in Clarendon, the prime minister, and the charter was granted. It established as a corporation "The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America." The royal will and pleasure coincided with the most earnest wish of the people, in that the writ decreed that no person within the colony should be in any wise molested or called in question for any differences of opinion in matters of religion, but that all might, at all times, fully enjoy their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments, any statute, "usage or custom of this realm, to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding." For the moment, the restoration was a sort of era of good feeling.

The Rhode Island Charter

July 8, 1663

Statue of Roger Williams

The charter named the governor (Benedict Arnold), the deputy-governor, and the ten assistants, and granted

Territorial Limits

1663 unto the said governor and company and their successors that part of his dominions in New England, "conteyneing the Nahantick and Nanhyganset alias Narragansett Bay, and countreys and partes adjacent, bounded on the west or westerly, to the middle or channel of a river there commonly called and known by the name of Pawcatuck." As the Connecticut charter of the year before granted to that colony all the lands extending "from the said Narragansett Bay on the East to the South Sea on the West Part, with the Islands thereunto adjoining," there was little opportunity of avoiding a quarrel concerning the doubly granted Narragansett country. But the coming of royal commissioners for New England and the consequences thereupon attending soon engaged the particular attention of all the colonies.

CHAPTER XIV

CONNECTICUT PLANTATIONS AND THE PEQUOT WAR

1631

The Connecticut Country

NOT all of the Massachusetts migrations of this period were forced as were those that led up to Providence and Pocasset. In 1631, an Indian sagamore from "the river Quonchtacut, which lies West of Naraganset," went to Boston seeking an alliance with the English. His overture was rejected but his tale of a delightful country was not forgotten. Some of the people of Massachusetts Bay soon began to think that their province was too crowded and to express a desire to emigrate thence to the region of the Fresh (Connecticut) River. In the same year, the earl of Warwick assigned to Viscount Say and Seale, Lord Brooke, John Pym, John Hampden, and others his dubious title to the territory between the Narragansett and the Pacific, the bounds of which "were stated with more than usually exasperating indefiniteness." Before the grantees could carry out their plans for planting a colony, intrusion came from other quarters.

March 19, 1631 = March 29, 1632

Autograph of Hampden

A Dutch Comedy

The Dutch had already penetrated to the valley from the south, purchased lands from the Indians as was their honest custom, built Fort Good Hope on the site of Hartford, and claimed the whole valley. In the fall of

1633 1634

1633, the Pilgrims sent a vessel round by sea to carry William Holmes and others up the Connecticut. For once, the Dutch had gotten up in early morning and the commander of Fort Good Hope threatened to fire if Holmes attempted to sail by. The English captain could not obey both of the contradictory orders and, as he understood Dutch not so well as he did English, he followed the instructions from New Plymouth, sailed by the fort which did not fire, and put together the prepared pieces of his house six miles above the fort, on the site of Windsor. From New Amsterdam, Director-general Van Twiller (Wouter the Doubter) sent troops and a proclamation, but neither did any injury. Connecticut had been begun. The water route to the beautiful valley having thus been opened by Holmes, the overland route through Massachusetts was that year explored by our quondam acquaintance, John Oldham. His "appetizing accounts of the upper Connecticut valley . . . seem to have suggested a way out of a serious difficulty which had come to a head in Massachusetts Bay."

Buzzing in the Hive

Dorchester, Watertown, and Newtown (Cambridge) had not adhered to the policy of the other five Massachusetts towns in the matter of limiting suffrage and office-holding to church-members. For this and perhaps other reasons, the three and the five fell into opposition. In 1634, the people of Newtown sent to the general court of Massachusetts Bay their petition "either for enlargement or removal." On the question of giving permission for removal to the valley of the Connecticut, the deputies voted yea, while the magisterial assistants voted nay. Thus arose a conflict between the two classes of representatives that required all of Cotton's eloquence to put at rest. The temporary issue was "enlargement" instead of "removal." But it was no easy thing for a general court to confine a people in a province and, when permission was refused, a few went without it. Some from Watertown began the settlement where Wethersfield now stands and others from Dorchester gathered around the Plymouth house at Windsor.

In May, 1635, the Massachusetts general court voted permission for the people of Watertown and Roxbury to remove to any place in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In October or November, a party, most of whom were from Newtown, started for the fertile fields and green meadows of the Fresh River valley. Men, women, and children, horses, cattle, and swine, began the overland march, while household goods were sent by sea. The marching contingent suffered much, for winter overtook them on the way. They settled where Hartford now stands. Two of the vessels were wrecked and ice closed the river to the others more effectually than the Dutch had ever done. Seventy of the outswarming settlers were glad to be carried back to Massachusetts, while "those who went to Windsor were complained of by the Plymouth people for intruding on their lands."

1635
1636
Swarming

Within a year, about three thousand settlers had come from England to Massachusetts. Some one must go further inland and Hooker and his people were restless notwithstanding the promised "enlargement." Professor Edward Channing has remarked that it seems a little singular that any one should have felt straitened for room in Massachusetts, but there doubtless were the restless pioneer spirit that still urges Americans to go West, the desire for more fertile lands than those of eastern Massachusetts, a desire for somewhat less of political and ecclesiastical restriction than could be hoped for under the rule of the Massachusetts hierarchy, and possibly, in the case of some of the dissatisfied, a weariness of the overshadowing influence of Wilson, Cotton, Endecott, Dudley, and Winthrop. At all events, something like a determination to "go west and grow up with the country" had taken hold of many and, in March, 1636, the general court issued a commission to Roger Ludlow, William Pynchon, and six other persons "to govern the people at Connecticut," for the ensuing year. The preamble of this document set forth that "there are to remove from this our commonwealth & body of the Mattachusetts in America divers of our loveing ffriends,

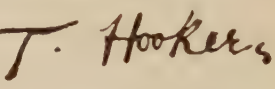
Unexpressed Consent

1636 neighbors, ffreemen & members of Newe Towne, Dorchester, Waterton, & other places, whoe are resolved to transport themselues & their estates vnto the Ryver of Connecticott, there to reside & inhabit, & to that end divers are there already, and divers others shortly to goe." This implied consent was the only permission granted.

The Hooker Migration

In June, 1636, the Newtown congregation started on their pleasant ten days' journey. The pastor's invalid wife was carried on a litter and wagons and tents were provided for the old and feeble. Rejoicing in the birds and flowers and tender foliage, and by easy stages, Hooker and his people worked their way, all as happy "as a modern church party that picnics for a day in a suburban grove." In the same summer, the body of the church at Dorchester with Pastor Warham and many of the Watertown people completed their removal. In each of the first two cases, it was a church led by its pastor, and in each the church was practically identical with the town. The Watertown

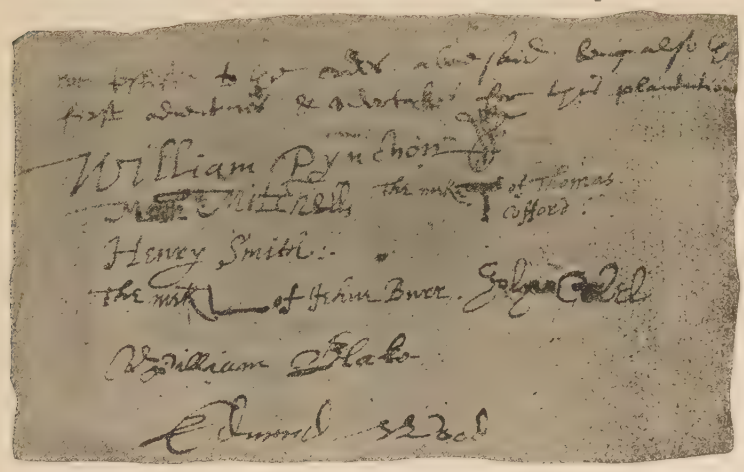
Map Showing Indian Purchases of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut (With mark of Aramamet at bottom)



Autograph of Hooker

emigrants left their minister (George Phillips) behind and organized a new church in their new home. For a time, the new settlements bore the old names but, in the following year, Dorchester, Newtown, and Watertown on the Connecticut respectively became Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. 1636 1637 February 21, 1637

Three organized Massachusetts towns had passed beyond the jurisdiction of any commonwealth. In that same summer of 1636, William Pynchon and others from Roxbury made a settlement further up the river An Inchoate State



Autographs of the Founders of Agawam (Springfield)

at Agawam, now Springfield. For a time it was not known whether Agawam was within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts or not and, until this was determined, the new settlement was assumed to be a part of Connecticut. The towns soon took up the powers of self-government, a somewhat nebulous commonwealth with its authority derived in part from the Massachusetts commission but chiefly from the democratic principles of its citizens. Before the Massachusetts commission expired, Connecticut had a well-established government of its own.

In the following year, each of the three lower towns elected three deputies or "committees" who met at Hartford and elected six magistrates. The court that met at The Colony of the River Towns

1637 Hartford on the first of May, 1637, was composed of these six magistrates and nine committees, and was the first that was recorded as a "general court." In the slight distinction between magistrates and deputies, we find the

Map of New England

germ of the later bicameral legislature of the state. In this new government, Agawam was occasionally represented. More than one able writer has argued that the towns created the commonwealth and that, consequently,

the towns are the residuary legatees of political power. "In other states," says Professor Johnston, the brilliant historian of Connecticut, "power runs from the state upwards and from the state downwards; in Connecticut, the towns have always been to the commonwealth as the commonwealth to the Union." The theory is interesting but the conclusion has not met with general acceptance. 1636 1637

Fundamental Principles

At its first meeting, the general court declared offensive war against the Pequots. As we shall soon see, the campaign resulted in the extermination of a formidable tribe. At its second meeting, the court ordered an additional draft of thirty men "to set down in the Pequot country and river in place convenient to maintain our right that God by conquest hath given to us." This was a challenge of the Massachusetts claim, a challenge that Connecticut made good. Then came a voluminous correspondence between Thomas Hooker and Governor Winthrop relating to the boundaries of the commonwealths and general principles of government. In this correspondence, we plainly see the uncompromising democracy of the Hartford pastor who urged that "the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people." On the other hand, the Massachusetts governor insisted that "the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser." The Connecticut freemen made their democracy the chief corner-stone of their commonwealth and, to the example thus given, "the Massachusetts freemen owed their final emancipation from a theocracy."

June 2, 1637

The Oldham Tragedy

When John Oldham was driven out of Plymouth, every musketeer gave him "a thump on the brich with the but end of his musket" and bade him "goe and mende his maners." Since that eventful day, we have seen him here and there, a restless adventurer ever. In July, 1636, he was in his ship trading with the Indians along the Connecticut River. On his return, near Block Island, he met trouble; we know not just what or why. We only know what John Gallop found and told. Gallop saw a vessel crowded with Indians and drifting helplessly

1636 out to sea. With one man and two boys, he boarded the vessel and attacked the Indians, some of whom dove into the hold while others threw themselves into the sea. Some of the details of the capture seem somewhat large, but John Gallop was a brave man and the rescued ship and John Oldham's corpse constituted conclusive evidence of the substratum of blood and truth. This was the first naval engagement on the New England coast.

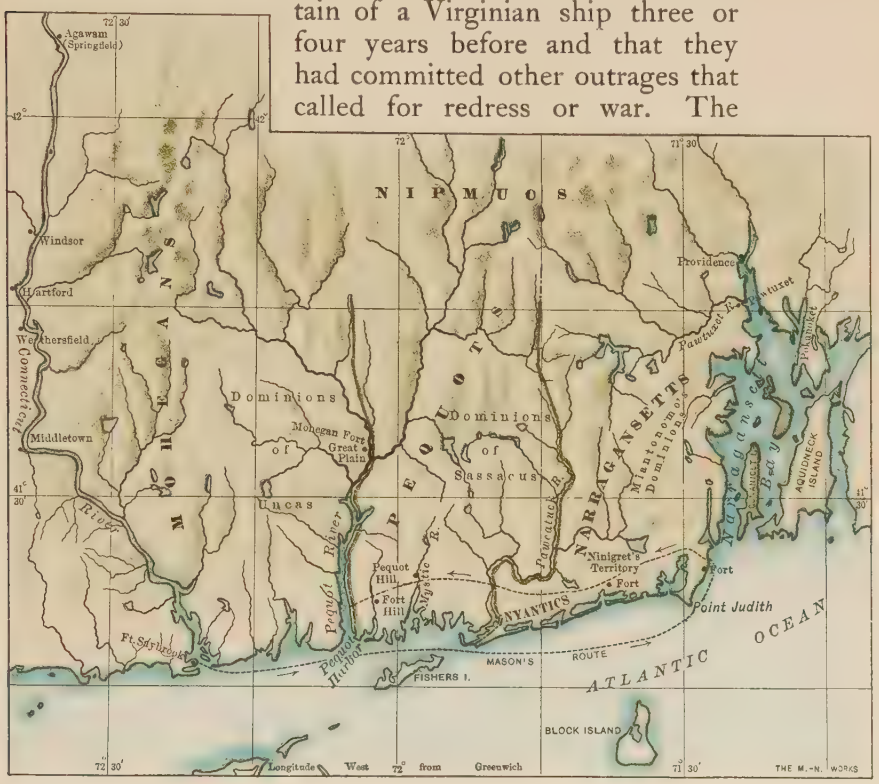
The Connecticut Tribes

Between Narragansett Bay and the Connecticut River were three warlike tribes, the Narragansetts, the Pequots, and the Mohegans. The most terrible of these were the Pequots. Their central seat was between the Pequot (now the Thames) and the Mystic rivers. Their two principal villages were fortified. One was near the head of the Mystic, on a height still called Pequot Hill; the other nearer the sound, on a ridge known as Fort Hill; both were in the eastern part of the present town of Groton. The Mohegans were a small but valiant tribe, tributary to the Pequots and restless under the yoke. Further north dwelt the Nipmucs. The mountain ranges that separated these tribes from the Hudson were unable to wall out the dread of Iroquois prowess or the incursions of the Mohawks.

Endecott's Attack on the Pequots

In August, 1636, Governor Vane of Massachusetts sent John Endecott with five small vessels and about a hundred men to punish the Indians of Block Island for the murder of John Oldham. Among his four lieutenants was John Underhill who, just then, was "of Massachusetts." They drove the barbarians to the interior of the island, burned the corn in fields and stacks, with wigwams, baskets, and canoes, and "the Indians whom they could not find to kill, they left to starve." Thence they crossed to the mouth of the Pequot River and marched up the highland ridge, now marked by the battle monument and the ruins of Fort Griswold. Not far from this spot, they attacked a band of Pequot warriors, three hundred in number. A few were killed and wounded, the others were driven back, the wigwam villages were burned. Underhill says: "Having burnt and spoiled what we could light on, we

embarked with our men, and set sail for the Bay." The invaders then skirted the Narragansett coast, leaving smoking ruins of crops and wigwams to mark their track. Endecott's measures had been less vindictive than his orders. The Pequots had no responsibility for Oldham's murder, but it was charged that they had killed the captain of a Virginian ship three or four years before and that they had committed other outrages that called for redress or war. The 1636



Map of the Pequot Country

redress was tardy and Endecott's expedition put away all possibility of Pequot reparation and drove that people into determined hostility to the English. One party or the other must be exterminated and Indian hatred like a mighty wave with bloody crest rolled up the valley.

The Narragansetts and the Pequots were traditional enemies, but there was danger that their common peril

1636 would mask their mutual hatred and unite them in an effort to crush the feeble English settlements. The united tribes could put four thousand warriors upon the path, while the Connecticut valley English had not more than two hundred and fifty men able to bear arms. Sassacus, the Pequot sagamore, had sent ambassadors to Canonicus, the patriarch and chief sachem of the Narragansett tribe, and to the younger and more fiery Miantonomo, their greatest warrior. It was clear that the proposed alliance could be prevented only by Roger Williams; no one else could do so much to save the young swarms from the Massachusetts hive from which, although neither drone nor robber, he had been driven. We therefore find Governor Winthrop and the Massachusetts council appealing to the exile "to use his utmost and speediest endeavors to break and hinder the league labored for by the Pequots against the English."

Massachusetts Appeals to Roger Williams

Williams's Service

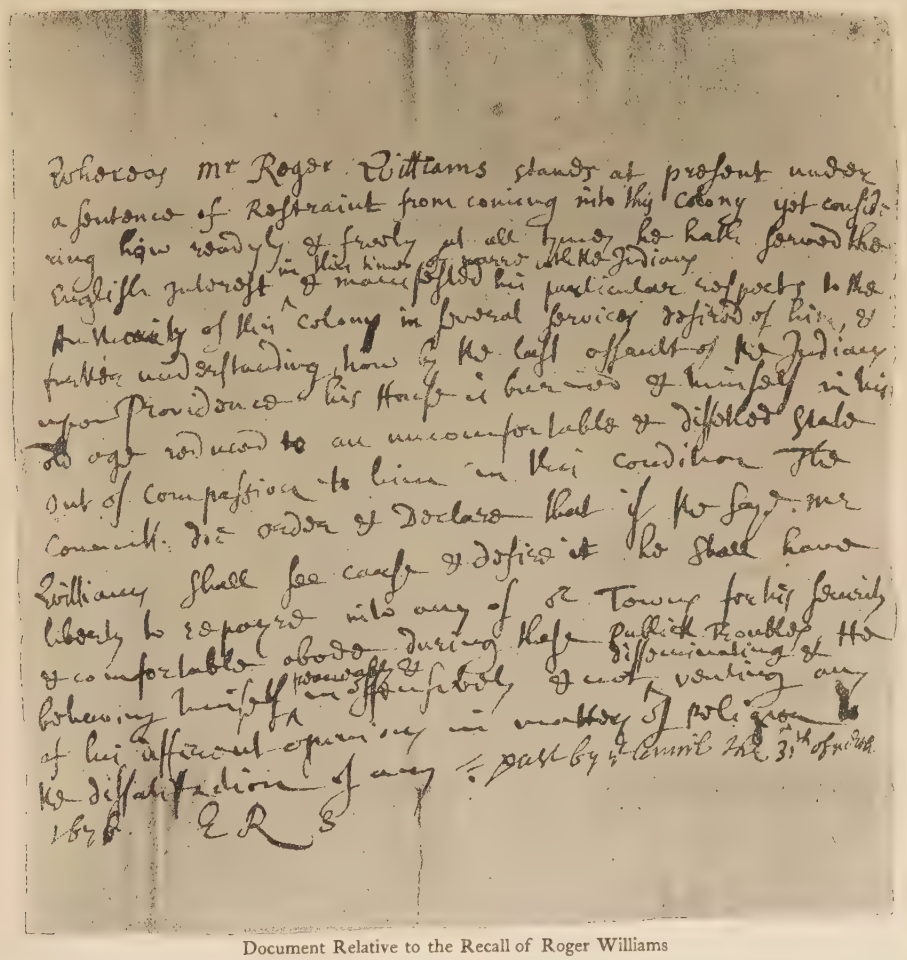
The case was one of such urgency that Williams immediately "put his life into his hand and, scarce acquainting his wife, shipped himself all alone in a poor canoe and cut through a stormy wind with great seas, every minute in hazard of life" to the home of Canonicus where, for three days and nights, he mixed with the Pequot ambassadors from whom, as he said, he could but nightly look for their bloody knives at his own throat also. The mission was as fortunate in its issue as it was perilous in its execution. Miantonomo went in person to Boston, and there signed a definite treaty of alliance with the English. Miantonomo proposed an expedition for the destruction of Pequot crops and Williams wrote to Winthrop that it would weaken the enemy and "also much enrage the Pequots forever against them, a thing much desirable." Coals of fire! Massachusetts accepted the aid but the decree of banishment was not revoked. A generation later, and in the plentitude of Puritan charity, the Massachusetts council, "understanding how by the last assault of the Indians upon Providence, his house is burned and himself in his old age reduced to an uncomfortable and disabled state," did declare that "he

September 21

His Reward

March 31, 1676

shall have liberty to repair into any of our towns for his 1636
security and comfortable abode during these public troubles, he behaving himself peaceably and inoffensively



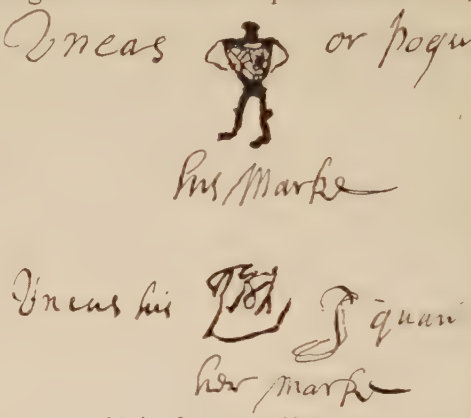
Document Relative to the Recall of Roger Williams

and not disseminating and venting any of his different opinions in matters of religion *to the dissatisfaction of any.*" This action of the council has been pronounced a "delightful evidence of the kindly feeling that was entertained for Roger Williams by the leaders of the

1637 Puritan colony," action "that could hardly have failed to have reached and touched his heart." But Roger Williams did not pass through the half-open door and it is easy to imagine that he had some other reason than that he "perhaps felt himself safe in Providence." Perhaps he disdained to accept an ungracious proffer.

Mason Invades the Pequot Country April 18

The Massachusetts general court determined to give their aid to the endangered Connecticut plantations and, at a special session, voted one hundred and twenty men and appropriated money for the war against the Pequots. The Connecticut towns had a total population of not more than eight hundred and they were nearly starving. But Puritan pluck was adequate to the emergency and a force of ninety men was quickly gathered. Under command of Captain John Mason* who had seen service in the Netherlands, they hastened to Fort Saybrook where they were joined by some Mohegan allies under the lead of their chief sachem, Uncas. Instead of following the plan adopted by the general court at Hartford and invading the Pequot country directly from the sea where he would have been met by an overwhelming force, Mason sailed by the mouth of the Pequot River (Thames) toward Narragansett Bay. The Indians were thus thrown off their guard. Reinforced by Underhill and twenty Massachusetts men and leaving thirteen to guard the boats, the little English



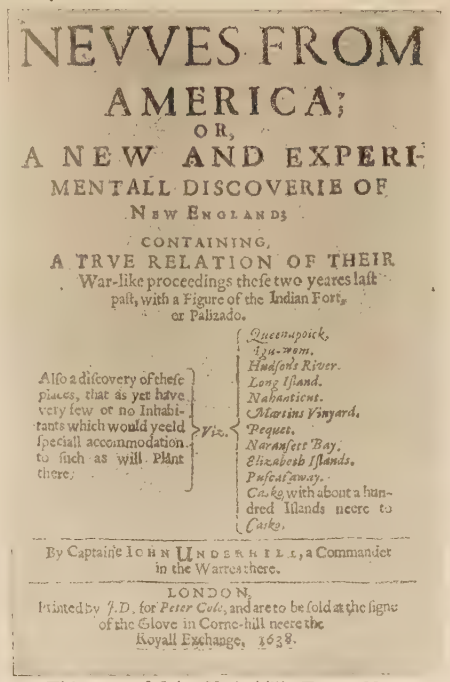
Marks of Uncas and his Squaw

Autograph of Mason

* This John Mason and the John Mason who was associated with Sir Ferdinando Gorges as a grantee of lands in Maine and New Hampshire were different persons.

and Mohegan army marched to the Pequot frontier where they were joined by Miantonomo and his Narragansett followers. The next day the allies marched westward and at night encamped not far from one of the two great Pequot villages. This village on Pequot Hill was palisaded and had seventy wigwams and seven hundred Indians who, wearied with their long carousal, soon gave themselves to "tired Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep."

1637



NEVVES FROM AMERICA;
OR,
A NEW AND EXPERIMENTALL DISCOVERIE OF NEW ENGLAND;
CONTAINING,
A TRVE RELATION OF THEIR War-like proceedings these two yeares last past, with a Figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado.

Also a discovery of these places, that as yet have very few or no Inhabitants which would yeeld speciall accommodation to such as will Plant there; Viz. *Queenapoick, Igu-wom, Hudson's River, Long Island, Nahanticut, Martins Vinyard, Pequet, Naransett Bay, Elizabeth Islands, Puscataway, Casko* with about a hundred Islands neere to *Casko*.

By Captaine IOHN UNDERHILL, a Commander in the Warres there.

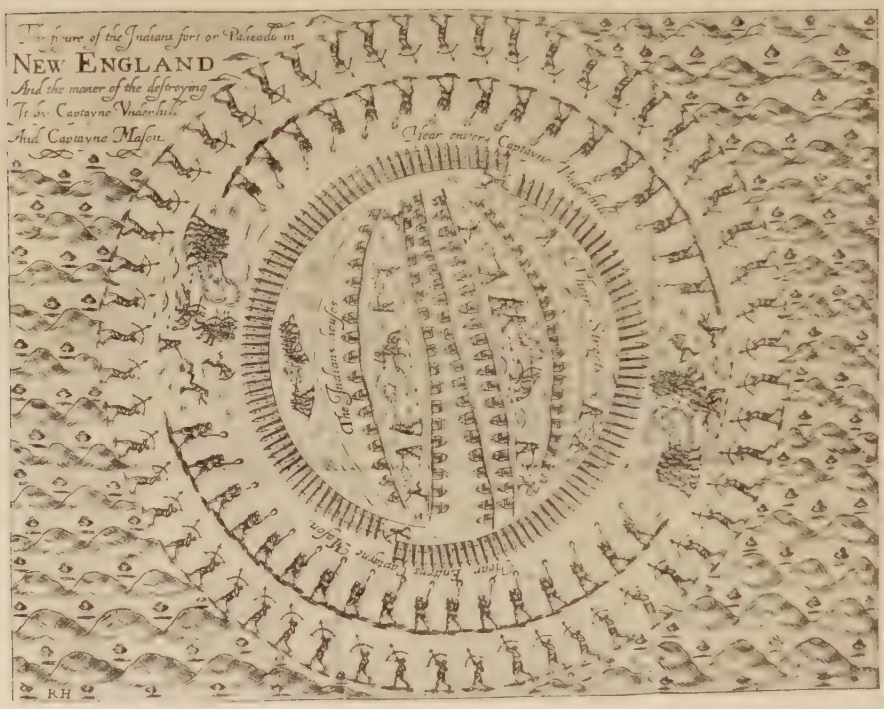
LONDON,
Printed by *J.D.* for *Peter Cole*, and are to be sold at the signe of the Glove in Corne-hill neere the Royall Exchange, 1638.

Title-page of John Underhill's Tract, *Newes from America*

The Annihilation of the Pequots June 5

In early morning, the English surrounded the village, their Indian allies forming a second circle around them. The two entrances were on opposite sides of the village and, when a barking dog gave the first alarm, Mason and his men rushed in at one, while Underhill and his did not linger at the other. Amid the din of the onslaught and the crackling of the flames, the Pequots' dreams were ended. Two Englishmen were killed and twenty wounded. Of the seven hundred Indians, seven were taken prisoners and another seven escaped. The fugitives bore the news of the thorough-going massacre to the next Pequot village. Mason's vessels were to rendezvous at the mouth of the Pequot River, still further west. His troops were exhausted with marching and burning and killing, his Narragansett allies had deserted after the massacre, and an exasperated foe was on his

1637 trail. Together the English and the Mohegans made their way to what is now New London harbor where they met Captain Patrick and the Massachusetts reinforcements. The wounded were put on the ships and the others marched on to Saybrook. The Connecticut



Underhill's Plan of the Attack on the Indian Fort

towns were saved. Mason was thanked by the general court, was made commander of the military forces of the colony with the rank of major, and held that position until he died in 1672. In a later generation, the Connecticut legislature appropriated money for placing "on Mystic or Pequot Hill, in the town of Groton, Connecticut, a suitable bronze statue, of heroic size, of Captain John Mason." The statue was unveiled in June, 1889. The inscription commemorates "the heroic achievement of Major John Mason and his comrades," the story of

which has some details that do not constitute altogether pleasant reading. 1637

Statue of John Mason

The Hunt

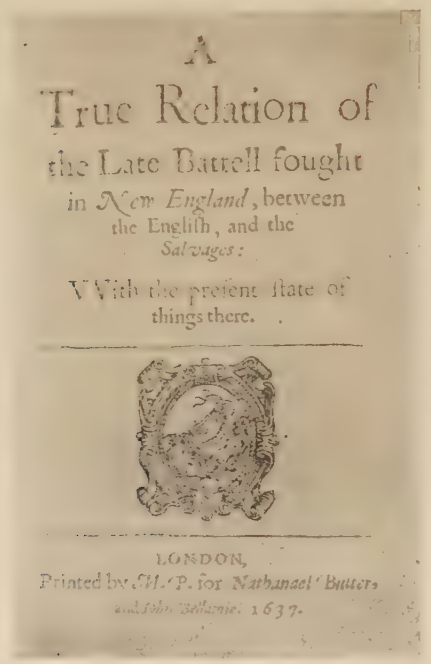
There could now be no peace between the Pequots and the Narragansetts and the only safety of the English lay in joining one party in the extermination of the other. Reinforcements came from Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth and, in July, the Pequot remnant was surrounded in a swamp near the site of Bridgeport. A few score escaped but about two hundred were taken prisoners. Sassacus and about thirty of the bravest of his people sought a refuge with the Mohawks of the Hudson. The Mohawks promptly murdered them and, in token of fidelity and friendship, sent half a dozen scalps to Governor Winthrop. The rest of the Pequots were hunted like wild beasts and, according to Captain Mason's narrative, "their heads were brought almost daily into Windsor and Hartford." The surviving few begged for their lives and consented that the Pequot name be obliterated. 1638

Arms of the Mason Family

The Booty

One of the most valiant and yet humane of these Puritan avengers was an interpreter, Thomas Stanton. On one occasion, he offered to go into a swamp and to treat with the enemy, "we being loth to destroy Women and Children." In spite of Mason's objections "by reason of some Hazard and Danger he might be exposed unto,"

1637–1642 he went and, as Mason records, "did in a short time return to us with near Two Hundred old Men, Women, and Children who delivered themselves to the Mercy of the English." In the division of the spoils of war the English assigned eighty captives (besides women and children) to the faithful Uncas. Miantonomo received a like allowance and Ninigret, a petty Narragansett sachem, was granted twenty on condition that his people should make satisfactory reparation for the killing of Edward Pomeroye's mare. The lords of the Pequot country disappeared and Connecticut took possession of the lands that they had occupied. More than a generation intervened between this sharp lesson and the next Indian war in New England.


A
True Relation of
the Late Battell fought
in *New England*, between
the English, and the
Salvages:
With the present state of
things there.

LONDON,
Printed by M. P. for Nathanael Butter,
and John Bellamie. 1637.

Title-page of P. Vincent's Tract, *A True Relation of the Late Battell*

Uncas and Miantonomo

One unfortunate result of the Pequot war was to make Uncas and Miantonomo rivals for the favor of the English. Largely through the efforts of Roger Williams, the two met at Hartford in 1638 and signed an agreement that provided for future peace between them. As is usual in such cases, the compromise was satisfactory to neither party and both seem to have been ready to break the compact upon slight provocation. In 1640, there were current rumors that Miantonomo was conspiring to destroy the New England settlements and the Narragansett warrior was summoned to Boston. With dignity and sufficiency, Miantonomo "accommodated himself to

September 21

September, 1642

us to our satisfaction," said Governor Winthrop. Then 1642
came the sale of the Shawomet lands to Samuel Gorton 1643
and the submission of Pumham and Saconono co to Massachusetts authority as recorded in the preceding chapter. About this time, there was trouble between Uncas and one Sequasson, a sachem who was tributary to Miantonomo. When the Narragansett warrior complained to the Connecticut authorities, he was told that "the English had no hand" in it and, when he informed Massachusetts that he "was very anxious to know if we would not be offended if he made war upon Onkus," Governor Winthrop answered that "if Onkus had done him or his friends wrong, and would not give satisfaction, we should leave him to take his own course." No wonder, therefore, that, in July, 1643, Miantonomo led the Narragansett forces toward the Mohegan country. The Narragansetts were defeated and Miantonomo was captured. The Connecticut authorities referred the case of the prisoner to the commissioners of the united colonies, who concluded that "Uncas cannot be safe while Myantonomo lives," and that "he may justly put such a false and blood-thirsty enemie to death, but in his owne jurisdiccon, not in the English plantacons." Winthrop's statement was that "it would not be safe to set him at liberty, neither had we sufficient ground for us to put him to death." Unfortunately for Miantonomo, Roger Williams was, at this time, in England seeking a patent for the Providence Plantations. Uncas received his prisoner from the English, two of whom went along to see that there was no torture. When they came to the "Great Plain" near Norwich where the battle had been fought, Uncas gave the fatal signal and Miantonomo was cut down. So perished "the benefactor of the fathers of Rhode Island." He was buried where he was slain.

The Death of Miantonomo

The return of the Narragansett chief to his enemy for execution has been the text of much denunciation. But in the power of the Narragansetts and in the deep and deadly hatred between the Narragansett and the Mohegan sachems, there was a continual danger that the English

Ethics

1639 would be dragged into another Indian war. This danger weighed heavily upon magistrates and ministers, and the massacres perpetrated by the Pequots a few years before had not yet faded from memory of the Connecticut pioneers. "During the watches of the night, the trembling inmates of the border cottages listened with apprehension to every sound and peered through their carefully closed shutters into the darkness of the surrounding forest dreading each moment to see the stealthy steps and fantastic trappings of the Narragansett and Mohawk warriors." The decision of the case was part of a policy that was dictated by fear; fear and mercy seldom walk hand in hand.

Monument of Miantonomo

The Fundamental Orders

On the fourteenth of January, 1639, the "inhabitants and residents" of the three Connecticut towns assembled at Hartford, in general assembly or popular convention. Springfield was reluctantly resigned to Massachusetts and the eleven "fundamental orders" of Connecticut were adopted. These orders, in which the hand of Hooker and the influence of the Massachusetts scheme of government are plainly discernible, have been called history's first example of an organic act establishing a government framed by authority of the people. By its terms, the freemen of Connecticut joined themselves "as one public state or commonwealth." The supreme power was lodged in a general court composed of the governor and at least four other magistrates, together with the major part of the deputies from the several towns. Each of the three original towns was to have four deputies; "and whatsoever other

towns shall be hereafter added to this jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the court shall judge meet, a reasonable proportion to the number of freemen that are in the said towns." 1639

Democracy Entrenched

The court that was to meet annually on the second Thursday of April was called the court of election. The other regular annual meeting of the court was prescribed for the second Thursday of September. In case of neglect or refusal by the governor and magistrates to call a court, that court was to "consist of the major part of freemen present or their deputies, with a moderator chosen by them;" as a penalty for their default, the governor and magistrates were temporarily relieved of legislative power. No presiding officer, whether governor or moderator, could adjourn or dissolve the court without the major vote of the members. The governor and six other magistrates were to be chosen by the freemen by ballot. It was required that the governor "be always a member of some approved congregation and formerly of the Magestracy within this Jurisdiction," and the same person might not be chosen for two successive years; the magistrates must be freemen of the commonwealth. Freemen were admitted by vote of the general court and took the oath of fidelity to the government of Connecticut; there was no mention of any other sovereign and church membership was not specifically required, although Professor Edward Channing has said that "it is altogether unlikely that a Baptist, or an Episcopalian, or a Roman Catholic, or even an Antinomian could have secured the right to vote in Connecticut in the year 1640, or for many years thereafter." The magistrates had "power to administer justice according to the laws here established, and for want thereof according to the rule of the word of God."

Nominations and Elections

For the executive and magisterial offices there was an elaborate system of official nomination. The deputies from each town were empowered to nominate two candidates and the court might "add so many more as they judge requisite." From the list thus made one year, the governor and magistrates were elected by the freemen in

1639 the ensuing year. It seems that it was the original intention that each freeman should give in his ballot in person at the annual court of election (a pure democracy) and that with the growth of population the plantations remote from Hartford began the custom of sending their ballots by proxies. After the elections were over, the court proceeded to make laws or to do what was necessary for the interests of the commonwealth. By the adoption of the "fundamental orders," Connecticut became in fact an independent republic with a system of complete popular control. John Haynes, who had been a governor of Massachusetts, was elected the first governor of Connecticut. Edward Hopkins was his immediate successor. Excepting the election of 1642, when George Wyllys was chosen, Haynes and Hopkins were alternately elected to the office until 1655.

April 11

Autograph of Haynes

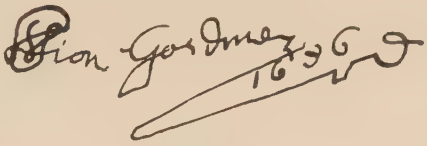
The Younger Winthrop

Allusion has been made to the claim that, in 1630, the Plymouth company had granted the Connecticut country to the earl of Warwick and to the fact that, in 1631, the earl transferred his alleged proprietorship to the Say and Seale company. In 1634, this company was making preparations in England to colonize Connecticut. The publicity of these unhindered preparations has been held up both as evidence of the validity of the Warwick grant and as an indication of a "pious fraud" in behalf of Puritan refugees

(The younger)

from the mother country. In the following year, John Winthrop Jr., son of the governor of Massachusetts, entered into agreement with the Say and Seale associates to act as "governor of the River Connecticut in New England, and of the harbor and places adjoining," for one year. He received his commission within a fortnight and arrived at Boston in October, just before the first migration from the Bay to the Connecticut valley. In November, he sent twenty men to take possession of the defenses at the mouth of the Connecticut River. He soon followed with Lion Gardiner, an expert engineer, who built a fort that shut in or "bottled up" the Dutch garrison at Fort Good Hope. The settlement that sprang up here was soon called Saybrook, a monument to the two principal patentees.

1635
1644
July 7, 1635


Autograph of Gardiner

George Fenwick, a member of the Say and Seale company, visited the fort in 1635 and, in 1639, came again with his wife and family. The Saybrook jurisdiction practically extended about five miles coastwise in each direction from the mouth of the river and six or eight miles inland. The Connecticut authorities, i.e., the River towns, had no paper title to the country that they occupied and, before many years, made an agreement with Fenwick for the sale of the fort and the land in its neighborhood. Fenwick was to enjoy for ten years an impost on commodities that passed the fort. The impost was a source of contention between Connecticut and Massachusetts. Although Fenwick thus sold property of which he was only part owner and appropriated to his sole use the proceeds of the transaction, the Connecticut authorities and many historians have made the most possible of the "quasi-legal standing" secured by the fraudulent transfer of a supposititious patent. It was the best they had until the defect was cured by the patent of 1662. In 1871, the old Saybrook fort gave way to a railway track. On an

The Fenwick Title

December 5, 1644

1645 1657 old gravestone in the near-by cemetery one may still read the inscription, "Lady Fenwick, 1648." Fenwick returned to England and became a colonel in the parliamentary army, a member of parliament, and one of the judges of Charles I. He died in 1657.

The Pequot Plantation

Because she had taken part in the Pequot war, Massachusetts claimed a share of the lands won by conquest and attempted to occupy the territory in advance of Connecticut. As early as 1640, Connecticut granted some of these lands to Captain John Mason, thereby asserting her jurisdiction. In 1645, the younger John Winthrop began a plantation at the mouth of the Pequot River and, in 1646, received a commission from the Massachusetts general court. The claim thus set up by Massachusetts was resisted by Connecticut and the matter was referred to the commissioners of the United Colonies. In the following year, at a meeting held at Boston, the commissioners concluded that "the jurisdiction of that plantation doth and ought to belong to Connecticut." The settlement grew in importance and soon was given a new name which it still bears, as will be more fully narrated a few pages further on.

July 26, 1647

The "Hive of the Averys"

An Appeal to Massachusetts

About the middle of the century, another settlement in what is eastern Connecticut was begun by William Chesebrough, Thomas Miner, Thomas Stanton, and William Palmer. The settlement prospered and, in 1654, they applied to the Connecticut general court for corporate powers which were not granted. "To be taxed for a minister at New London some twelve miles away, with two rivers to cross to get there and no ferry-boats was a little too much." In October, 1657, George Denison, Thomas Stanton, John Gallop and others, "in the name of the rest of the Inhabitants & with their consent," sent a memorial to the Massachusetts general court requesting

"that you would please to accept us under your Government & grant unto us the Liberties & priveledges of a Township." The Massachusetts authorities opened correspondence with the younger colony, but the Connecticut records make no mention of the matter. It is probable however that influences from Hartford were brought in action and that some of the settlers were won back to their allegiance, thus dividing the opposition. In his famous diary, Thomas Miner wrote: "because that the bay men begun in an unjust way to lay out mens lands that they had in possession before the things wer wholy ended maks me to turne wholy to Coneticut & give them my list."

1657 1658

March, 1658

The Pawcatuck Association

A few months later, Chesebrough, Palmer, and Stanton, "in the prsance of the Rest," sent "our Honnered Friend Capt. George dennysonn" with another communication to the Massachusetts general court setting forth that "we are bould still to petition that you will please to Confarme our lands and Possessions & to grant vs the liberty of a Township & the privyledges thearof & likewise Charrytably to Consider our remoatness as also being surrounded with many indyans & many malignant percons often passing this way as quakers and others that you will be pleased thearfore to establish soomm such athoryty among vs that we may be preserved in righteousness & peac." At the end of June, at the suggestion of the Massachusetts general court and "in regard of soomm distractions among ourselves and thear hath bene injurious insolencys done unto soom persons," the settlers entered into compact as "The Association of Pawcatuck People" and "maid choise of Captain Gorg Dennyson and Willm. Chesebrough to be comytioners to issue out warrants & to cause to be brought before them anny suspitious persons," etc.

June 30, 1658

Conflicting Claims to Eastern Connecticut

The disputed question as to jurisdiction over the territory wrested from the Pequots was again submitted by Connecticut and Massachusetts to the commissioners of the United Colonies who, in 1658, half reversed their decision of 1647 by awarding the territory west of the

1662 Mystic River to Connecticut and the country between the Mystic and the Pawcatuck to Massachusetts. This brought the Pawcatuck associators under the sway of the Bay Colony. In 1659, the Massachusetts general court named the settlement Southertown and annexed it to the county of Suffolk of which Boston was a part. In 1662, the long-sought Connecticut charter fixed the eastern boundary of the colony at the Pawcatuck River and Massachusetts gracefully acquiesced. In June of that year, Thomas Miner wrote in his diary that "mr plaisted [and] ould Cheesbrough was going to norig [Norwich] To surrender the Towne to Coneticut."

Stonington

At its session of October of that year, the Connecticut general court ordered that "the inhabitants of Mistick and Paukatuck [not Southertown] shal from henceforth forbeare to exercise authority by vertue of commissions from any other Colony; and that in case of any differences that may arise, they repaire to our Worshipfull Dep: Governor for help; and that they chuse a Constable, for the yeare ensueing; and the said Constable to repaire to our Worshipfull Dep: Go: for his oath. And they [are] required to pay vnto Mr. James Rogers, Lieut. Samuel Smith and Ensign [James] Avery, for and in behalf of the charge of our Charter, the sum of Twenty pounds, as their Townes proportion, two thirds in wheat, at 4 *s.*, one third in pease, at 3 *s.*, by the last of November next. The Court orders Lieut John Allyn to send a Warrant to Thomas Stanton in the Courts name, to attend this order, and if he refuse, Peter Blachford is to gather the rate and destrein according to former order." The plantation was first represented in the general court at Hartford at the October session for 1664, when its deputy, William Chesebrough, presented a petition from his constituents asking pardon for past offenses. Such pardon was granted to all but Captain George Denison. In 1665, the general court changed the name of Southertown to Mystic and, in 1666, Mystic became Stonington.

The foregoing story of how Connecticut saved its eastern domain draws back the curtain and gives us a fair

view of some of the Puritan pioneers of that period. In it we see that they were very human and sometimes querulous and petty, but that on the whole they were of tough fiber and strongly disposed to insist upon their rights as they understood them. Governor Haynes died in 1654, Hopkins left the colony for high office in the mother country, Thomas Welles was chosen governor in 1655, and John Webster in 1656. The choice next fell upon John Winthrop of New London. In 1658, Thomas Welles was chosen again, after which Winthrop was called each spring until 1676, the restriction of reëlection imposed in 1639 having been abolished by the freemen in 1660.

1662

Governor Winthrop of Connecticut

Monument of John Winthrop the Younger

While the Massachusetts authorities were prone to "pose as the pronounced champion of colonial liberties," the policy of Connecticut was what, in modern political parlance, is called a still hunt; or in the words of Professor Johnston, "to say as little as possible, yield as little as possible, and evade as much as possible when open resistance was evident folly." Many of her own people felt that she was too much inclined to "trot after the Bay horse," but

Silence and Success

1662 her statesmen never forgot their lack of a charter and the importance of securing respectable territorial limits for the colony. From the day in 1637 when her general court resolved to send thirty men to occupy the Pequot country and "to maintain our right that God by conquest hath given us" to 1662 when her charter was secured, Connecticut endeavored to adopt every rival and thus to strengthen her own title. Her success in carrying out this policy was remarkable. Town after town was admitted to the commonwealth, the growth being most easily traced in the increase of the number of deputies in the general court.

New London

Keeping in mind this great need and this marked disposition, an added interest may be read into legislative acts like the following, adopted by the general court of Connecticut at the session that began on the eleventh of March, 1657:

> Whereas it hath bene a comendable practice of the inhabitants of all the Collonies of these parts, that as this Countrey hath its denomination from our deare native Countrey of England, and thence is called New England, soe the planters, in their first setling of most new Plantations have given names to those Plantations of some Citties and Townes in England, thereby intending to keep up and leave to posterity the memoriall of severall places of note there,—as Boston, Hartford, Windsor, York, Ipswitch, Brantre, Exeter, —This Court considering that there hath yet noe place in any of the Collonies bene named in memory of the Citty of London, there being a new plantation within this Jurisdiction of Conecticut setled upon the faire River of Mohegin in the Pequot Countrey, it being an excellent harbour and a fit and convenient place for future trade, it being alsoe the only place which the English of these parts have possessed by conquest and that by a very just war upon that great and warlike people, the Pequots, that therefore they might therby leave to posterity the memory of that renowned citty of London, from whence we have had our transportation, have thought fit, in honour to that famous Citty, to cal the said Plantation, New London.

The Founders of New Haven June 26, 1637

While the Pequot war was raging, a band of English Calvinists arrived at Boston. Their pastor was John Davenport whom Archbishop Laud had driven from the charge of Saint Stephen's church in London; after him, their leading man was Theophilus Eaton, a merchant in whom the stoicism of the Puritans was joined to benevolence and mildness. The Antinomian controversy was then raging and the conquest of the Pequot country was assured. Why should they subordinate themselves to others when they could constitute a commonwealth of

It may please the worthy & much Honored Governor,
Deputy, and Assistants, & with them, ye present Courte
to take knowledge that our Desire of staying within this
patent was Reall & Strong, if the eye of Gods providence
(to whom we have comitted our Waies especially in so im-
portant an enterprise as this, which we confess, is farr above
our Capacityes) had guided us to a place convenient for
our familyes, & for our freinds. Which as our words have
often expressed, so, we hope, ye truth thereof is sufficient-
ly declared by our almost nine moneths patient wayting
in expectacon of some opportunity to be offered us for that
end, to our great charge & hindrance, many waies.
In all which time we have, in many prayers comended ye
guidance of our apprehensions, judgmts, spirits, resolucons
& wayes into the good hand of ye onely wise God, whose
prærogative it is to determine ye bounds of our habitacons
according to ye ends for which he hath brought us into
those Countryes and we have considered, as we were able,
by his helpe, whatsoever place hath bene propounded to us,
being ready to have, with contentmt accepted (if by our stay
any publick good might be promoved) smaller Accomoda-
cons, & upon dearer termes (if they might be moderatly
comodious) then we beleive, most men, in ye same cass with
us, in all respects, would have done. And, whereas a place for
an Inland plantacon, beyond Watertowne was propounded
to us, and pressed with much importunity by some, whose
words have ye power of a law with us, in any way of God,
we did speedily, and seriously deliberate thereupon, it being
ye subject of ye greatest part of a Dayes discourse; the con-
clusion was, that, if ye upland should answer ye meddow ground
in goodnes and desirablenes (whereof yet there is some
ground of doubting) yet, considering that a Boate cannot pass
from ye Bay thither, nearer then 8 or 10 miles distance, and
that it is so remote from ye Bay, & from any towne, we
could not see how our dwelling there would be advanta-
gious to those plantacons, or compatible with our conditions
or comodious for our familyes, or for our freinds:
Nor can we satisfye our selves that it is expedient for our
selves, or for our freinds, that we chuse such a condition
wherein we must be compelled to have our dwelling
houses so farr distant from our farmes, as Boston, or
Charles towne is from that place, few of our freinds be-
ing able to beare the charge thereof (whose cases
nevertheless

First Page of Letter by Davenport and Eaton

nevertheſs we are bound to Conſider and ſome of
them that are able not being perſuaded that it is law-
full for them to live continually from the greateſt part
of theyre familyes, as, in this Caſe, they would be neceſſita-
ted to doe. the Seaſon of ye yeare, & other weighty
Conſideracions, compelled us to haſten to a full & finall
Conclusion which we are, at laſt, Come unto, by Gods appointmt and
direction, we hope, in mercy, & have ſent letters to
Conectacutt for a ſpeedy tranſacting the purchaſe of ye
parts about Quillypieck from ye Natives which may
pretend title thereunto. By which Act we are Abſo-
lutely, & irrevocably ingaged that way, and we are
perſuaded that God will order it for good unto theſe
plantacions, whoſe love ſo abundantly, above our deſarts,
or expectacions, expreſſed, in your deſire of our abode in
theſe parts, as we ſhall ever retaine in thanckfull
memory, ſo we ſhall account ourſelves ~~to be~~ thereby
obliged to be any way inſtrumentall, and ſerviceable
for ye Comon good of theſe plantacions as well as of thoſe, which the Di-
vine providence hath combined together in as ſtrong
a bond of Brotherly affection, by ye ſamenes of theyre con-
dition, as Joab and Abiſha were, whoſe ſeverall armyes
did mutually ſtrengthen them both againſt ſeverall
enimyes. 2. ſam. 10. 9. 10. 11. or rather they are joyned
together, as Hippocrates his twinnes, to ſtand, and fall
to growe & decay, to flouriſh, & wither, to live & dye
together. In witnes ~~[illegible]~~ of the premiſes we ſubſcribe [illegible] name.

The 17th day
of the firſt month
Anno 1638

John Davenporte.
Theoph: Eaton.

Second Page of Letter by Davenport and Eaton

their own according to their purpose before leaving England? So Davenport and his company sailed out of Boston Harbor, past the sand-hills of Cape Cod, into Long Island Sound, and thus to Quinnipiac (New Haven). In proportion to their numbers, they formed the richest colony in America and they were free from all entangling alliances. They had no patent from the king or any of his concessionaries, but their agents bought land from the natives, paying therefor no more than was necessary. With a profitable mixture of honesty and worldly wisdom, they were seeking homes in a free land where "they might be prosperous without ceasing to be pious." They hoped to make their new home the commercial metropolis of America—an ambition that was wrecked by the proximity of New York. In the beginning, as was the case at Plymouth, the town and the colony were identical.

1638

March 30

Their Plantation Covenant

Soon after their arrival came a day of prayer and fasting and a simple "plantation covenant" that in all things "all of them would be ordered by the rules which the scriptures held forth to them." Unfortunately the date and the text of this covenant have been lost. Although a similar enactment for the guidance of New Caledonia in Darien led Macaulay to declare that it "proves that those who drew it up either did not know what the Holy Scriptures contained or did not know what a law meant," the New Haven compact justified the purpose of its authors because it fitted the people whom it was to control. They had left England because they did not like the laws of England, their fundamental idea, the very corner-stone of the new plantation, was that the Scriptures afforded sufficient law for state as well as church, and they had no time to lose. What better than to adopt a code, a copy of which was in every man's hand and that every man read daily to his family?

The Seven Pillars

After living under this compact for more than a year as only a God-loving people could have done, measures were taken for a permanent form of government. After a sermon by the pastor from Proverbs, ix, 1, the "free

1639 June 4–14 planters" held a constitutional assembly in Robert Newman's barn. At this "general meetinge," a committee of twelve was chosen to select "the seven pillars" for the church and state. The seven were chosen from the twelve and, entering into covenant with each other, constituted the church. Davenport was chosen pastor and ordained by the simple laying on of hands and with complete indifference to the apostolic succession or the authority of bishops. They did not meet as a general court until nearly two months later. The "seven pillars" then resigned their authority, all who were members of the church were accepted as members of the court, and six from other churches were admitted to citizenship. The freeman's oath was administered and Davenport preached a sermon. The general court then elected Eaton as "magistrate" and four others as deputies or assistants. To these were added a secretary and a constable or marshal. It was then resolved "thatt the worde of God shall be the onely rule to be attended unto in ordering the affayres of government in this plantation"—a masterly stroke of the brush by which were obliterated all English law and all possibility of further local legislation. Eaton was yearly reëlected chief magistrate or governor

August 22

October 15–25

John Davenport

as long as he lived — a period of almost twenty years. 1639–1643
The state was builded on the church and the church was supported by the pillars. The nominated seven, Davenport, Eaton, and five others, determined the original church membership and church members only could be clothed with complete citizenship. This was democracy with a proviso that transformed it to theocratic oligarchy. The Hooker "fundamental orders" looked to government by the many; the Davenport "foundamentalls" provided a government by the chosen few.

The New Haven Commonwealth

Neighboring towns were planted, each with its church and seven pillars, and pleasant villages came to dot the northern borders of the sound and clustered on the opposite Long Island shore. The example and success of Connecticut and the proposed New England union gave strength to the project for confederation. In September, 1640, Quinnipiac became New Haven. About three years after that, two deputies from each of the towns of New Haven, Milford, Guilford, and Stamford met with Governor Eaton (now so called for the first time), the deputy-governor, and three magistrates. The general court thus made up agreed upon a constitution that differed little from the New Haven "foundamentalls" of 1639. It is probable that the importance of representation in the New England union had led the towns to a previous agreement on the general plan of the New Haven commonwealth for, half a year earlier, commissioners "for the jurisdiction of New Haven" had been appointed to that union. Southold

September 1

October 26 – November 5, 1643

April 6, 1643

The Whitfield House at Guilford

1649 was admitted as a town in 1649 and Branford in 1651.
1655 When, in 1654, the people heard that a Cromwellian expedition against New Netherland had arrived at Boston, they promptly raised two hundred pounds and a force of a hundred and thirty-three men and pressed vessels into service for the purpose of "crowding the Dutch."

Schools

In 1638, the first year of the plantation, Ezekiel Cheever began his extraordinary pedagogic service of seventy years' duration. On the twenty-fifth of December, 1641, it was ordered "that a free school shall be set up in this town." It was intended that this New Haven school should develop into a great university. In 1655, New Haven town "raised above three hundred pounds to encourage the work" of beginning a college and Milford promised another hundred. The times were not yet ripe for such a project and, for a while, the people sent their yearly contributions of corn to Harvard. In 1657, before the first English child born in New Haven had attained its majority, "it was propounded that the court would think of some way to further the setting up of schools for the education of youth."

Autograph of Cheever

The New Haven Code

In 1655, Governor Eaton presented to the general court a compilation of such laws or orders as he thought "most necessary to continue." He was directed to compare it with the Massachusetts code, to make, with the approbation of the elders, such additions "as he should think fit," and to have it printed. In this action we see none of the distrust of magistrates that annoyed the people of Massachusetts and, in the code itself, we find no confirmation of the New England "Blue Laws" fable.

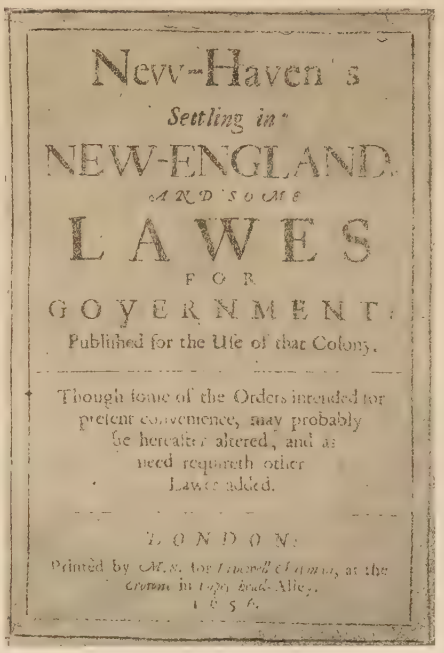
The Charter of 1662

Connecticut was not very prompt in her acknowledgment of Charles II., but she was less tardy than the other members of the confederacy. In 1661, the general court

voted an address to the king "declaring and professing themselves, all the inhabitants of the colony, to be his Highness's lawful and faithful subjects," and praying "for the continuance and confirmation of such privileges and liberties as are necessary for the comfortable and peaceable settlement of the colony." Governor Winthrop was sent to England with the address and with instructions to seek a royal charter with provisions "not inferior or short to what was granted to the Massachusetts." In spite of a pompous proclamation issued at New London by "William Morton, constable," and protesting against one Mr. John Tinker, justice, who had flung away the testimony against some who had "spoaken Treason against the king in a high degree," the governor's mission was successful. A patent of extraordinary liberality was granted in April, 1662. "In Witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents. Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the Three and Twentieth Day of April, in the Fourteenth Year of Our Reign. By Writ of Privy Seal, HOWARD." This "Fourteenth Year" ignores Cromwell and the commonwealth and dates the beginning of the monarch's reign from the execution of his father. The charter included the colony of New Haven, confirmed or conveyed to Connecticut the country that previously had been granted to Lord Say and Seale

1661

May 16


New-Haven's
Settling in
NEW-ENGLAND.
AND SOME
LAWES
FOR
GOVERNMENT:
Published for the Use of that Colony.

Though some of the Orders intended for present convenience, may probably be hereafter altered, and as need requireth other Lawes added.

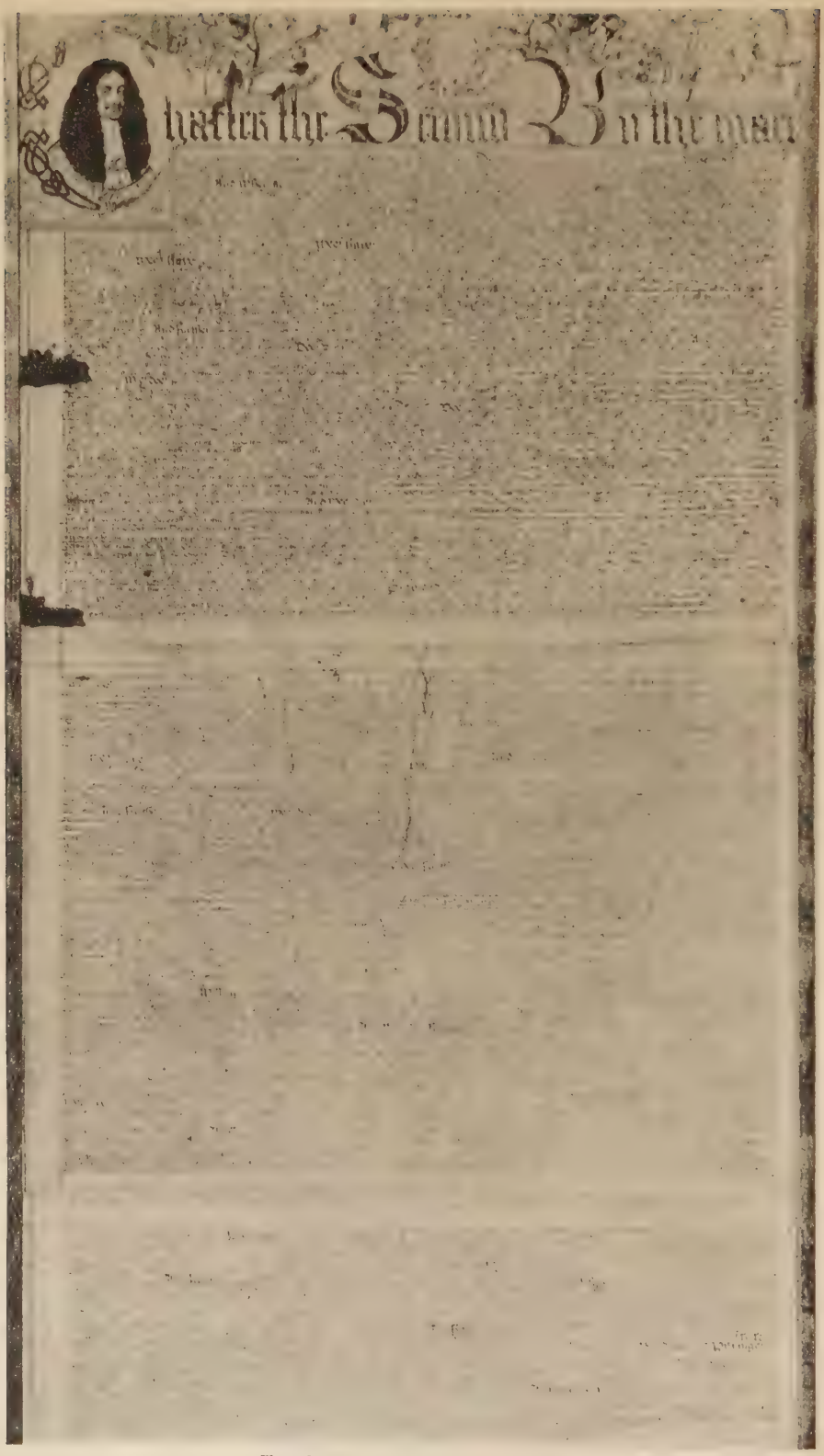
LONDON:
Printed by M.S. for Liverwell Chapman, at the Crown in Pope head-Alley.
1656.

Title-page of *New-Haven's Settling*

March 20, 1662

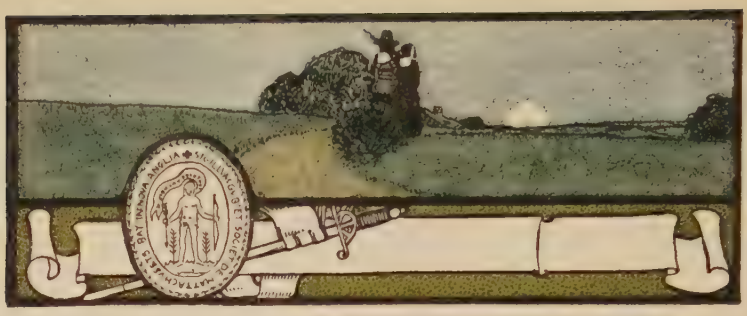
April 23 – May 3

Connecticut Absorbs New Haven



The Connecticut Charter of 1662

and others, and expressly granted all that Massachusetts had given displeasure by claiming for herself. New Haven liked it not and resisted until 1665, when her absorption was completed. The charter continued in force until it was replaced by a state constitution in 1818. 1662



CHAPTER XV

ANNEXATION AND CONFEDERATION

1640
1654

New Somersetshire April 3–13, 1639

AFTER the attempted partition of New England among the members of the New England council in 1635, Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained a charter that made him lord proprietor of Maine. Although at that time the Plymouth Pilgrims had a trading-post on the Kennebec, it may be said in general terms that, in politics and religion, people and proprietor were in full accord. In 1636, Captain William Gorges arrived in Maine as deputy-governor and with commissions for Richard Vines and other members of the council of the province of "New Somersetshire." The records of this government were continued for about a year; it is not known just when New Somersetshire breathed its last breath. In 1640 came a deputy-governor, Thomas Gorges, son of the lord proprietor, with a stately scheme of government. In 1641, the poor village of Agamenticus (York) was transformed, without increase of population, into the incorporated city of Gorgeana, with its mayor and aldermen, courts, sergeants, and white rods, a pompous attempt to revive antique usage. Thomas Gorges made his headquarters at Gorgeana until 1643, when he returned to England, leaving Richard Vines in charge. As no word was received from the lord proprietor, who was on the losing side in the civil war in England, the general court, in 1645, appointed Vines as deputy-governor for one year and authorized him to take possession of the goods and chattels of Sir Ferdinando and to pay his

Gorgeana

debts. As far as we know, the last general court under the authority of Gorges was held in 1646. 1643 1652

In 1643, the year that Thomas Gorges returned to England, Alexander Rigby, a Lancashire lawyer, bought an unrecorded and abandoned patent for lands in Maine and galvanized it into seeming life. This "Plough" patent, issued by the council for New England in 1630, granted lands extending thirty miles on the seacoast. Rigby appointed George Cleves of Casco as his deputy. When Cleves set up his authority as "Deputy-president of the Province of Lygonia," a collision was produced between the rival governments. In 1646, Massachusetts consented to act as umpire and decided that neither party had made good its claim and that both should live peaceably together. The litigants could not thus live and a joint appeal was made to England. When royalists and roundheads went to war, Sir Ferdinando Gorges buckled on his armor in defense of the king. When Bristol was retaken by the parliamentary forces in 1645, Gorges was plundered and imprisoned; in 1647, he died. The colonists wrote to his heirs; their letters were unanswered. In 1649, the people of the western part of Maine combined to form a body politic. Edward Godfrey was chosen governor of this "Province of Maine."

The Province of Maine

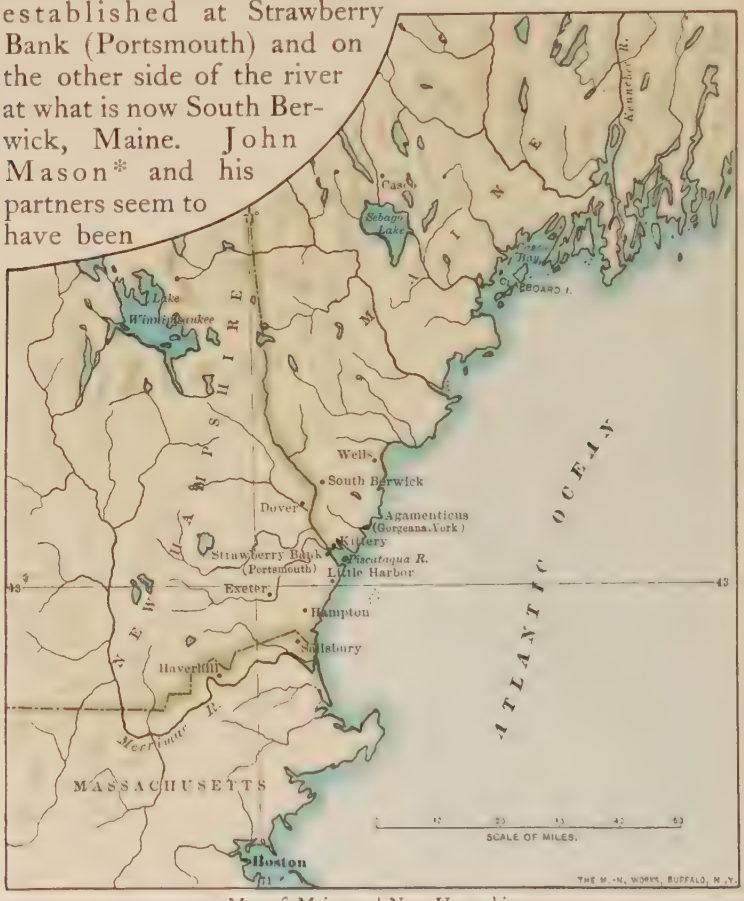
The Massachusetts charter included all the lands "which lye and be within the space of three English Myles to the Northward of the said River Monomack, alias Merrymack, or to the Northward of any and every Parte thereof." When the general court had learned something of the geography of the region, a line was run eastward from a point three miles north of the northernmost part of the Merrimac. The line reached the sea at Clapboard Island, about three miles east of the Casco peninsula. It was held that this brought the settlements of Maine under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, for the charter of 1629 antedated both the Gorges and the Rigby patents. Rigby died in 1650. In 1652, Massachusetts sent commissioners to settle affairs in the eastern plantations. Governor Godfrey made loyal protests but town after

Maine Absorbed by Massachusetts

1630 town submitted and, from Casco to Kittery, Maine was
1631 swallowed up in Massachusetts Bay.

New Hampshire Settlements

As already recorded, settlements in New Hampshire had been made at Little Harbor and at Dover. In 1630, the Laconia company sent out an expedition with Walter Neal as governor. In the following year, stations were established at Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth) and on the other side of the river at what is now South Berwick, Maine. John Mason* and his partners seem to have been



Map of Maine and New Hampshire

in earnest in their attempts to colonize their domain and to have spent considerable money for the purpose.

* Not the John Mason of the Pequot war.

Governor Neal penetrated the country hunting for the imagined "lakes of Laconia"—an unromantic English Ponce de Leon. After three years' fruitless endeavor and the expense of much estate, "they returned back to England with a *non est inventa Provincia*." In the partition of New England in 1635, Mason received New Hampshire as his share. He was named by the king as vice-admiral of New England and was making preparations to go in person to New Hampshire when he died. Gorges had meantime been at work on his side of the Piscataqua. Both partners had been making arrangements for the establishment of English state churches but, in the sharp words of Mr. Sanborn, "fate and the grasping Puritans of Boston Bay were too much for them." The Laconia company was dissolved. In 1638, John Wheelwright, the Massachusetts exile, with others, bought lands of the Indians and made an independent settlement at Exeter. About the same time, Stephen Bachiler and other avowed subjects of Massachusetts began the settlement of Hampton, the fourth New Hampshire town. Bachiler had been "a vigorous, old Puritan minister" who, several years before, had come to America as one of the ill-fated "Plough" company who had tried to set up a colony in Maine under the patent of 1630.

1635
1639
December, 1635

As the Plymouth council had no authority to delegate its power of government and as the king did not set up his rule there until 1680, the early government of the four New Hampshire towns must have rested on the voluntary consent of the people. At first, authority was exercised by the leading members of the companies that owned the patents but, by 1639, recourse was had to written compacts whereby the signers agreed to abide by the will of the majority. A patent that was issued to Edward Hilton and others in March, 1629, was sold to Bristol merchants and later to Lord Say and Seale, Lord Brooke, "and other gentlemen friendly to Massachusetts." About this time, large accessions to the settlements on the Piscataqua were made; some of the newcomers "had been in bad repute in Massachusetts." Among these was John Underhill

Annexed to Massachusetts
1632

1639–1643 who became governor and, in 1640, returned to Boston to make confession of offences. The perils of anarchy and the evils of a disputed jurisdiction wearied the inhabitants. In 1639, the Massachusetts contingent that had settled Hampton accepted as their own the government at Boston and, in 1641, an agreement was signed by which Portsmouth and Dover were annexed to their more powerful neighbor. A few months later, the Massachusetts government passed an act of union and, in 1643, Exeter followed the example of her three sister towns. The annexed settlers were exempted from the Massachusetts rule that required freemen and deputies to be members of a recognized church, but the Reverend Richard Gibson, rector of the English church at Portsmouth, was forced by the interference of the Boston authorities to return to England.

June 14

October 9

May 10, 1643

Benevolent Assimilation

When Exeter asked to be taken under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, Wheelwright, still under banishment, moved on to Maine. He bought lands near York and began a thriving settlement that he named Wells. He soon wrote to Governor Winthrop admitting that his "own distempered passions" had led him into error and exile; his sentence was revoked. These New Hampshire towns, with the neighboring settlements of Salisbury and Haverhill, were made into a Massachusetts county, a relation that continued for forty years. There were disputes between Mason's widow and some of the early settlers on the Piscataqua concerning the ownership of lands and the Massachusetts theocracy bore somewhat heavily upon the English churchmen in the northern provinces, but on the whole the settlements were prosperous and the inhabitants were well satisfied. "All roads lead to Rome." By the magnetic power of recognized success and in disregard of the rights of the heirs of Mason and of Gorges, Massachusetts drew to herself the weaker settlements of Maine and New Hampshire and thus saved them from anarchy. Then she turned half way round and cast a covetous eye southward, as related in the story of Samuel Gorton and Shawomet. These

annexations were not only the beginnings of serious controversies, they were usurpations that involved questions that reached down to the very roots of sovereignty. We may admire but we have no right to forget. England did not forget. 1643

The migrations from the Old World to the New differed largely from those that had changed the character of European society, in that they were individual rather than tribal. Having been led across the ocean by their common love of liberty, Catholic and Protestant, Churchman and Puritan alike, they left old political forms in the old places and applied their cherished principles in a way and to an extent peculiar to themselves. Students have devoted much time and learning to tracing the germs of some of our institutions back into the depths of ancient German forests, but the truth still stands that the ideas and institutions that characterize the nation are essentially peculiar to the nation. Some of the separate principles were undoubtedly transplanted, as were the religion, language, and manners of the immigrants; but from the new soil they grew with new strength and new significance and developed into a political entity different from anything that the world had before known. In the words of Professor Frederick J. Turner, "the wilderness has been the melting pot and the mold for American institutions." In the New World, these Old World ideas developed along two lines—the line of local self-government and the line of union. Of these, one led to the town and state; the other led up to the nation. New World Institutions

The idea of local self-government was historic when Ralegh planted and Brewster prayed. As has been pointed out by many, it was a leading principle of the primeval polity of the Goths; but in the England of King James and Queen Elizabeth this idea was a tradition rather than a living political force. The crown had undermined the ancient freedom of the hundreds, burghs, counties, and shires, and deprived the people of the power of local government. But while the seventeenth century was still young, Englishmen out of England were governing themselves, The Idea of Union

1643 testing their own decisions, and correcting their own judgments. Plymouth had her covenant, Massachusetts and Connecticut their town-meetings, and Virginia her house of burgesses. Old germs had brought new fruits that were essentially original and that fairly may be called American. The natural product thus evolved was a cluster of distinct and essentially free communities. The idea of joining these communities for common defense and general welfare grew so naturally under the then existing conditions that the resultant notion of a republic may with equal propriety be called American. This blending of these two lines of polity, union and local self-government, was first realized in the New England confederacy.

The United Colonies

The New England colonists had to do with the Manhattan Dutch, the Canadian French, the unquiet Indian, the English king and prelates—each a menace. The first proposal for a confederation of the English colonies east of the Hudson was made by Connecticut in 1637, but the scheme did not take on definite form until 1643. There was, on the part of Connecticut and Plymouth, a fear of the preponderance of the power of Massachusetts but, in that year, the articles of union were signed by commissioners from Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, while Plymouth submitted them for the approval of her people. On the twenty-ninth of the following August, the Plymouth general court issued its commission "to Mr. Edward Winslowe and Mr. Will Collyer to ratifye and confirme the same on their behalf." The settlements of Maine were not included in the union because, says Winthrop, "they ran a different course from us, both in their ministry and civil administration; for they had lately made Acomenticus (a poor village) a corporation, and had made a tailor their mayor [!], and had entertained one Hull, an excommunicated person and very contentious, for their minister;" those of Rhode Island were excluded, "we having no conversing with them, nor desire to have, further than necessity or humanity may require." Massachusetts could not

May 19–29

forgive her own children or "have any treaty with them." 1643
The order of her general court refers to the Narragansett representatives "as men not to be capitulated withal by us, either for themselves or the people of the Island which they inhabit, *as their case standeth.*" And so, as already recorded, Roger Williams went to England, where king and commons were at war, to seek from the independent leaders there protection for the Narragansett plantations.

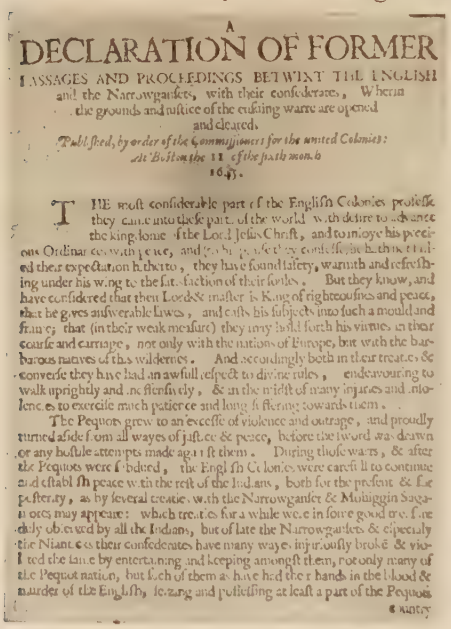
The Articles of Confederation

The articles of confederation provided that the four commonwealths should be known as the United Colonies of New England; established a "firme and perpetuall league of friendship and amytie, for offence and defence, mutuall advise and succour, vpon all just occations, both for preserueing and propagateing the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their owne mutuall safety and well-fare;" secured for each colony a local government perpetually free from interference within its own limits; provided that the charge of all wars, "both in men and provisions and all other Disbursements," be apportioned according to the number of male persons in each jurisdiction between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and that all profitable fruits of war be distributed upon the same basis; minutely prescribed the method of raising men and means for repelling a sudden invasion of any colony; strictly defined and limited the purpose of the federation and intrusted all matters of common interest to eight commissioners, "two for the Massachusetts, two for Plymouth, two for Connecticut, and two for New Haven; being all in Church fellowship with us." The vote of any six commissioners was to settle any question but, if six could not agree, the proposition under consideration was to be referred to the four general courts. There was provision for the admission of new members into the union, but no new member ever was admitted. The commissioners organized by electing John Winthrop as September 7
their president. The confederacy had no direct executive power and yet it "lived or lingered" forty years. It was the first example of coalition in colonial story and

1643 constituted the germ that in the fruition of the following
1653 century became the union of the states.

A Tariff for Revenue

The united colonies had forty-nine towns and a population of about twenty-four thousand. For twenty years their league was the predominating power in North America. When the commissioners were in doubt, they often sought the counsel of ecclesiastical tribunals composed of the principal ministers of the colonies, as they did when the fate of the captive Miantonomo was referred to them. By reason of her greater strength, Massachusetts was tempted to arrogance and was regarded with unreasonable distrust. Of course, there were differences to be reconciled and dissensions to be healed. For instance, Connecticut levied a toll on all vessels passing out of the river, as agreed in Fenwick's sale of Saybrook, and the people of Springfield refused payment on the ground that they belonged to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The Bay State took up the quarrel and, when the federal commissioners decided in favor of Connecticut, Massachusetts retaliated by subjecting the vessels of her confederates to a similar impost at the castle of Boston Harbor.



A
DECLARATION OF FORMER
PASSAGES AND PROCEEDINGS BETWIXT THE ENGLISH
and the Narrowgansets, with their confederates, Wherin
the grounds and justice of the ensuing warre are opened
and cleared.
Published, by order of the Commissioners for the united Colonies:
At Boston the 11 of the sixth month
1645.

THE most considerable part of the English Colonies professe they came into these parts of the world with desire to advance the kingdome of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to inloye his precious Ordinances with peace, and [illegible] they confesse, he hath not failed their expectation hitherto, they have found safety, warmth and refreshing under his wing to the satisfaction of their soules. But they know, and have considered that their Lord & master is King of righteousnes and peace, that he gives answerable lawes, and casts his subjects into such a mould and frame; that (in their weak measure) they may hold forth his virtues in their course and carriage, not only with the nations of Europe, but with the barbarous natives of this wilderness. And accordingly both in their treaties & converse they have had an awfull respect to divine rules, endeavouring to walk uprightly and inoffensively, & in the midst of many injuries and insolences to exercise much patience and long suffering towards them.

The Pequots grew to an excesse of violence and outrage, and proudly turned aside from all wayes of justice & peace, before the sword was drawn or any hostile attempts made against them. During those warrs, & after the Pequots were subdued, the English Colonies were carefull to continue and establish peace with the rest of the Indians, both for the present & for posterity, as by several treaties with the Narrowganset & Mohiggin Sagamores may appeare: which treaties for a while were in some good measure duly observed by all the Indians, but of late the Narrowgansets & especially the Niantics their confederates have many wayes injuriously broke & violated the same by entertaining and keeping amongst them, not only many of the Pequot nation, but such of them as have had their hands in the blood & murder of the English, seizing and possessing at least a part of the Pequots

country

First Page of *A Declaration of Former Passages*

Nullification

In 1653, the Massachusetts deputies "did not understand that they were called upon to make a present war with the Dutch." The sixth article of confederation authorized the federal commissioners "to examine,

weigh, and determine all affairs of war or peace"—and seven of the eight were now for war. But Massachusetts refused to recede from her position, the first nullification of a federal act in America. Plymouth appointed a committee to examine the articles "and give in their thoughts" and New Haven angrily voted that, unless Massachusetts obeyed, "there was no reason why the commissioners should hold another meeting." When the commissioners declared by a vote of six to two that they "conceived themselves called by God to make a present war" upon Ninigret and the Dutch and made a levy for two hundred and fifty men, the Massachusetts magistrates declared that "they dared not to exercise their authority to levy forces within their jurisdiction to undertake a present war against Ninigret." The commissioners promptly confirmed their action and voted that "the Massachusetts had actually broken their covenant."

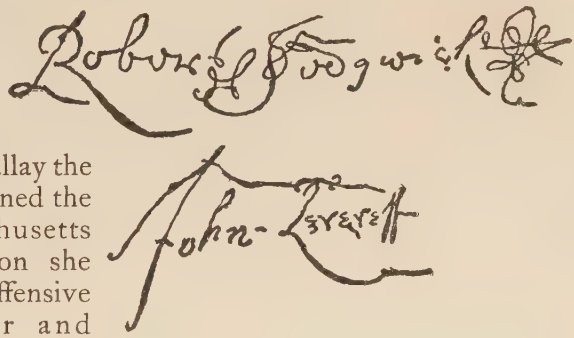
1653 1654

September 20, 1653

The Apology of Massachusetts

About this time, three or four ships that Cromwell had sent under the command of Robert Sedgwick and John Leverett for the conquest of New Netherland arrived at Boston. They were quickly followed by news of the peace between England and Holland. The probability of war tended to allay the dissensions that threatened the confederacy. Massachusetts retracted the distinction she had made between offensive and defensive war and acknowledged that the decisions of the commissioners were binding upon her, so far as they were "in themselves just and according to God." For want of better, the dubious apology was accepted and the trouble seemed to be at an end. Other questions were treated with good sense and in good humor and, for a time, the confederacy prospered.

June 5, 1654

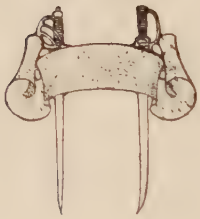


Autographs of Sedgwick and Leverett

The peace with Holland left an idle English fleet

1654 Acadia

at Boston where five hundred colonists had enlisted for warlike enterprise — an organized force ready for almost anything that might be found for it to do. Nominally, England and France were at peace, but Bourinot, the historian of Canada, assures us that "matters in America were often arranged without much reference to international obligations." At all events, the expedition was sent from Boston to Acadia. Quite unprepared for the attack, La Tour on the Saint John and Le Borgne at Port Royal immediately surrendered and, in a few days, all Acadia was once more in the hands of the English. Roberts, another historian of Canada, complains that when the treaty of Breda was signed, in 1667, Acadia "was ignominiously handed back to France in return for a little sugar-island in the West Indies."



CHAPTER XVI

MASSACHUSETTS TROUBLES

1634
1662

Endecott's Indiscretion

IN 1634, Thomas Dudley succeeded Winthrop as governor of Massachusetts. At the end of the year, Dudley gave way to John Haynes, later the oft-elected governor of Connecticut. In Dudley's term, John Endecott publicly cut the red cross of Saint George from the colors of the train-band at Salem. Although "it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the king of England by the Pope as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing and a relic of Antichrist," the thing looked a little like rebellion and made the Massachusetts magistrates uneasy. As soon as Haynes had been sworn into office, the general court appointed a committee to consider the act "& to reporte to the Court howe farr they judge it sensureable." The committee "did reporte to the Court that they apprehend hee had offended therein many wayes, in rashness, vncharitablenes, indiscrecion, & exceeding the lymitts of his calling; wherevpon the Court hath sensured him to be sadly admonished for his offence, which accordingly hee was, & also disinabled for beareing any office in the commonwealth, for the space of a yeare nexte ensueing." The cross was omitted from the ensigns, but it was appointed "the king's arms to be put into that of Castle Island," that the royal colors might be seen from the ships and injurious reports thus kept from England.

The Flag from which Endecott cut the Red Cross

1634
1635

The Massachusetts Freeman's Oath

At this time, the freeman's oath approved by the general court was significantly free from any allusion to England, king, or parliament. The freeman swore "by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God" to be true and faithful, to yield assistance and support to the local government, and to submit himself to the wholesome laws and orders made and established by the same. The concluding obligation was: "Moreover, I do solemnly bind myself, in the sight of God, that when I shall be called to give my voice touching any such matter of this state, wherein freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, without respect of persons or favor of any man. So help me God, in the Lord Jesus Christ."

The Shadow of Coming Trouble

In 1633, the English privy council gave assurance that the king of England would not impose on the people of Massachusetts the religious ceremonies that they had emigrated to avoid. In April, 1634, the supervision of the colonies was transferred to a commission that had dangerous powers, as already described. With the hated Archbishop Laud at the head of such a commission, the action had an ominous look and startling rumors soon were current in the colonies. It is not certain that Charles I. fully realized what he was doing when he gave his assent to the Massachusetts charter. He had already made up his mind to rule England without a parliament and may have thought to make that task more easy by tempting Puritans to leave his kingdom and by diverting the minds of those who stayed. Five years had now gone by and the first difficulties of absolute rule had been passed. The colony moreover was manifesting vigor as well as contumacy and, if this was to be stopped, 'twere well it were done quickly.

A Call for the Return of the Charter

In conformity with its policy of "thorough," Laud's commission called on Cradock for the Massachusetts charter. The document was not in England and Cradock wrote for its return. When the general court convened, "on the table lay a copy of the instrument that gave

The South part of New-England, as it is Planted this yeare, 1634.

Wood's Map, 1634

1634 1635 power to eleven courtiers to ruin them and theirs." The copy had been brought by the ship that brought that other trouble, Anne Hutchinson. After conference, it was resolved "not to return any answer or excuse at that time." In 1635, the Boston ministers resolved that "we ought to defend our lawful possessions if we are able; if not, to avoid and protract."

Steps Toward Independence

Widespread fears of having forced on them the discipline of the Anglican church and a governor not of their own choosing led "the magistrates and deputies to discover their minds each to the other and to *hasten their fortifications*." For this latter purpose, the colony raised six hundred pounds. The militia companies began to train and, a hundred and forty years ahead of time, orders were issued to fortify Castle Island and the heights at Charlestown and Dorchester. It is not strange that there were complaints of hostility to the church of England and of designs to shake off the royal jurisdiction. In the beginning, the Massachusetts company declared that "we must and will have an obsequious eye," but when the ocean intervened, the Massachusetts churches dropped the garb of the Anglican hierarchy. It is easy now to see that, with feeble, halting steps, the New England English were advancing to religious independence. Settlements had been made regardless of royal patents and with no claim to lands but that of purchase from their Indian owners; commonwealths had been framed with written constitutions that made no mention of king or any earthly power beyond their own jurisdictions. This was an advance toward political independence. The germinal principle that we found in Scrooby had conquered the New England churches and now was working in the state. "If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"

Quo Warranto

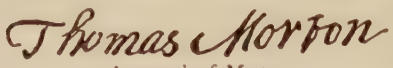
The "persecution" of Laud's commission was strangely seconded by the dissensions and avarice of the members of the council for New England, recorded in a previous chapter. The success of their scheme for the partition

June 7, 1635

of lands among themselves and the surrender of their

Boston Old and New

1635 1637 charter to the king called for the overthrow of the Massachusetts charter. They, therefore, retained the notorious Thomas Morton as their solicitor and set forth "that the Massachusetts patentees, having surreptitiously obtained from the crown a confirmation of their grant of the soil, had made themselves a free people, and for such hold themselves at present." A writ of *quo warranto* was issued for the vacation of the Massachusetts charter but it was not served upon the members of the company who were resident in New England; as Professor Herbert L. Osgood has pointed out, it could not have been served and a return secured within the specified legal time, a suggestion of the wisdom of the removal of the corporation into New England.


Autograph of Morton

The Danger Frustrated

Fourteen members of the Massachusetts company, resident in England, did appear before the court of the king's bench and pleaded that they were not guilty of the usurpation charged; in the case of each it was decreed that he "shall not for the future intermeddle with any of the liberties, privileges, or franchises aforesaid." In other words, the fourteen were excluded from the corporation. But the corporation itself, being non-resident in England, survived and seems not to have suffered because of the action against it. Matthew Cradock made default and was convicted of the usurpations charged; his rights under the charter passed back into the king's keeping. According to the record, "the rest of the patentees stood outlawed *and noe judgment entered up against them.*" The outlawry was never completed. The transfer of the charter to New England had saved the Massachusetts company from the fate of the Virginia company. In the meantime, Edward Winslow of Plymouth sailed for England to defend the two colonies. The danger was alarming, but "the Lord frustrated their design." In 1637, there was a plan to send Sir Ferdinando Gorges to New England as governor-general with vice-regal powers like those later given to Andros. Within two years, there were three official demands that the Massachusetts

1635

charter be returned to England. Then came the premonitory rumblings of the great rebellion. 1637 1639

In 1637, a copy of a commission was sent to the Massachusetts magistrates authorizing them to govern until further orders. This assumed that they had been governing without authority and that their powers might be removed at will. The magistrates found a pretext in the fact that they had received only a copy and that the original had not yet received the royal seal. In April, Another Danger

Winthrop's Farm, Ten Hills

1638, the lords of the council wrote to Governor Winthrop demanding the return of the patent and threatening its sequestration in case of refusal. In May, the council, in direct violation of the Massachusetts charter, detained a squadron of eight ships as it was about to sail from the Thames to New England; the exodus was assuming dangerous proportions and it seemed wise "to restrain the transportation to the colonies of subjects whose principal end was to live as much as they could without the reach of authority."

In September, Massachusetts answered the demand. The reply set forth that "if the patent be taken from us the common people will conceive that his majesty has cast them off and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection." The charter was not sent back. The demand was renewed in the following year, but the general court took advantage of the fact that the order came by private letter and not by an accredited messenger and made no answer. Thus did the Massa- More Delay 1639

1639 chusetts magistrates follow the policy of procrastination
1640 outlined by the Boston ministers in 1635. Sometimes delays are not dangerous and it certainly was fortunate that the corporation was not resident in England. In order fairly to appreciate the vertebral rigidity of these Massachusetts Puritans, we must remember that hand in hand with these dangers to their charter went the burdens of the Pequot war and the dissension that clustered about Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson.

Respite

Massachusetts was becoming conscious of her growing strength. Laud's persecutions turned many toward the Puritan colony across the sea and, in a little more than ten years, twenty thousand of the best of Englishmen crossed the ocean and built half a hundred towns between the Hudson and the Merrimac. The royal government of England had to hold that "all corporations, as is found by experience in the corporation of New England, are refractory to monarchical government, and endeavor to poison a plantation with factious spirits." Moreover, stirring times were just ahead and any day might bring something of benefit to the colony. With prophetic wisdom, the fathers of Massachusetts anticipated Micawber and something *did* turn up. After years of rule by royal prerogative, a parliament assembled in April, 1640, only to be dissolved in May because the redress of grievances was made the inexorable condition of any grant of money. So came and went the "Short Parliament." August brought a victorious Scottish army and, in November, financial distress and general disorganization forced the king to assemble what became the famous "Long Parliament." No time now for the oppression of New England; old England's throne is tottering. No fears now for the Massachusetts charter; Puritans in England are enlisting to resist the king, Marston Moor becomes a victory for Massachusetts Bay, and New England gains twenty years of unmolested independence.

Education

October 28, 1636

In the gubernatorial term of Henry Vane, the Massachusetts general court agreed to give four hundred pounds for a public school, "the next court to appoint

ILLVSTRISSIMIS PIETATE, ET VERA RELIGIONE, VIRTVTE, ET PRVDENTIA HONORATISSIMIS VIRIS, D. IOHANNI Winthropo, cæterisque unianum Nov-Angliæ Coloniarum Gubernatoribus, & Magistratibus Dignissimis, Vna cum pienissimis, vigilantissimisque Ecclesiarum Presbyteris:

Nec non omnibus nostræ Reip. literariæ, tam in Veteri quam in Nov-Anglia, Fautoribus benignissimis:

Has theses Philologicas & Philosophicas, quas ex Deo, Præsidi Henrico Dunstero palam in Collegio Harvardino pro viribus propugnare conabuntur (honoris, observantiæ et gratitudinis ergo) D. D. D. in ortibus liberalibus initiandi Adolescentes.

Iohannes Ionesius, Samuel Danfortibus.
Samuel Matheros, Iohannes Allinus.

Theses Philologicæ.

Grammatica.

i Lingua, prius discenda, quam artes.
ii Linguæ facilius usu, quam arte discuntur.
iii Linguarum Anglicana nulli secunda.
iiij Literæ diversæ sonum habent diversum.
v Quæ T. esterre ait, in latinis absurdum.
vi Sua vocis equalis est, nec consonat, nec syllabatur.
vij Nostra alphabetum pronunciandum, [illegible]
viij Syllabarum accentus non [illegible]
ix Verba [illegible]
x Synthesis est naturalis Syntaxis.

Rhetorica.

i Rhetorica est affectionum doctrina.
ii Eloquentia naturalis excellit artificialem.
iii Arte loqui præstat quam ornate.
iiij Vel gestus fidem facit.

Logica.

i Dialectica est omnium artium generalissima.
ii Efficiens & finis non ingrediuntur rei essentiam.
iii Formæ finales cum re ipsa ingeneratur.
iv Postra forma pronuntur essentiæ, differentia & actio.
v Ex motus et res motu factæ sunt effectæ.
vi Oppositorum ex uno affirmato alterum negatur.
vij Relata sunt sibi mutuo causæ.
viij Contradictio topica negat ubique.
ix Principia maxime dissentiunt.
x Genus et species sunt notæ causarum et effectorum.
xi Omnis syllogismus est necessarius ratione formæ.
xii Omnis quæstio non est subjectum syllogismi.
xiij Methodus procedit ab universalibus ad singularia.

Theses Philosophicæ.

Ethica:

i Felicitas moralis est finis Ethices.
ii Actuum actum non generatur [illegible]
iii Virtutes non pereunt sola actuum [illegible]
iv Non perfecta dari potest, vitium [illegible]
v Libertas est liberum arbitrium [illegible]
vi Virtus in individuo [illegible]
vij [illegible] amentes.
viij Virtus non regerat nos.
ix Est abstinentia qui continens.
x Honor sequentem fugit, fugientem sequitur.
xi Divitiæ nil conferunt felicitati morali.
xij Nulla est vera amicitia inter improbos.

Physica:

i Nihil agit in seipsum.
ii Omne motus fit in tempore.
iii Non datur infinitum actu.
iiij Pura elementa, non sunt alimenta.
v Non datur proportio arithmetica in mixtis.
vi Intuo corpore non sunt plures animæ.
vii Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte.
viij Status animæ in corpore est naturalissimus.
ix Visio fit receptione specierum.
x Phantasia producit reales effectus.
xi Primum cognitum est singulare materiale.

Metaphysica:

i Ens qua ens, est objectum metaphysices.
ii Ante omnia prius, simplicius, melius, verius.
iii Datur discrimen inter ens et rem.
iv Essentia entis non suscipit magis et minus.
v Veritas est conformitas intellectus cum re.

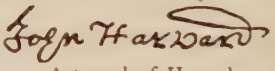
Cantabrigiæ Nov. Ang. Cudebat. [illegible]

THE FIRST PRINTED THESES OF HARVARD COLLEGE

1636
1640

John Harvard Statue

where and what building." It has been said that this assembly was "the first body in which the people, by their representatives, ever gave their own money to found a place of education." The first wants of life had hardly been provided for, the taxpayers were under the burdens of the Pequot war and the shadow of a royal attack upon their charter, the Antinomian insurrection was threatening their government, and yet they agreed upon an appropriation that was equivalent to the colony tax for a year. Two years later, a "sometimes minister of God's word" dying left his library and half his fortune to this school which took his name and became Harvard college.

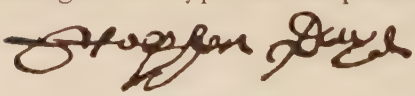


Autograph of Harvard

September 24, 1638

Think whose the hands that fed her altar fires,
Then count the debt we owe our scholar-sires.

In the same year, the first fonts of type were sent to Boston and, in January, 1639, Stephen Daye, who had brought the type and a printing-press from England, printed *The Freeman's Oath*, the first issue of the colonial press. In 1640, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Faithfully Translated into English Metre*, was published, the first book printed in America north of the city of Mexico.



Autograph of Daye

Public Schools

As early as 1642, it became a New England law that "none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families as not to teach their children and appren-

tices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue." Mr. Higginson has emphasized the fact that thus by men who had paced the halls of Emanuel college at Cambridge and now plowed their own fields and shot their own venison were laid the foundations of the building which, in a later century, was beautified and rounded into fulness by Horace Mann, the Hiram of the Bay State's grandest temple. In 1647, it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies "that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to read and write; and when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." This was to the end "that learning might not be buried in the grave of the fathers" and forms the fitting and enduring memorial of Winthrop's last administration. 1636 1640

The Evolution of the Caucus

The education of the people along the line of practical politics had also been begun. There were no well-defined and permanent political parties but there were exciting political contests. On some such occasions, there were private conferences of men of influence, parlor agreements or caucuses in embryo. Some of these agreements corresponded fairly well to the modern state convention. For instance, when Haynes was elected governor, Roger Ludlow protested that the election was void "for that the deputies of the several towns had agreed upon the election before they came." Ludlow had been an assistant for four years and, having been defeated by Haynes for the governorship of Massachusetts, he accompanied the Dorchester colony that planted Windsor on the Connecticut. As recorded in the preceding chapter, he was one of the eight commissioners named by the Massachusetts general court, in 1636, to govern the Connecticut plantations for the ensuing year. May, 1635

A Would-be Aristocracy

Among the great questions of the time were the authority of the magistrates and the rights of the people. Certain families of influence, supported by the clergy,

1630 1640 were bent upon the formation of a privileged class. The majority of the freemen were inclined toward democracy. The earlier phases of the sixty years' struggle between these forces were complicated with the Connecticut secession of a part of the democratic party. The governor or the deputy-governor and any seven of the eighteen assistants were made by the charter "a full and *sufficient* Court or Assemblie" for the transaction of business, while "greate and *generall* Courts" to be composed of the governor or deputy-governor "and such of the Assistants *and Freemen* of the said Company as shalbe present" were authorized "to choose, nominate, and appointe, such and soe many others as they shall thinke fitt and that shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said Company and Body, and them into the same to admitt, . . . and to make Lawes and Ordinances for the Good and Welfare of the saide Company."

The Disfranchised Majority

It was soon found that the charter was not a perfect constitution for a commonwealth and the people had to feel their way and adapt their legislation to the exigencies of the situation. The dominant class attempted to restrict the general court to the functions of a mere electing body and to reserve for the court of assistants the exclusive right to make laws and to enforce them. At the first meeting of the general court in Boston it was ordered that the governor and the deputy-governor should be chosen by the assistants from their own number. In 1631, the court of assistants excluded all but church members from the right of voting — the second step toward theocracy. It is estimated that at least five-sixths of the inhabitants were disfranchised as late as 1676. Winthrop's great influence was on the side of the limitation of political potency to the end that the better part of the people might choose the court of assistants, while that wiser body exercised all legislative powers. This was widely different from the system that Hooker elaborated for Connecticut.

October, 1630

Deputies and Magistrates

In 1634, the colony had about three hundred and fifty freemen and several thousand inhabitants in sixteen towns. The most distant settlement, Ipswich, was thirty miles

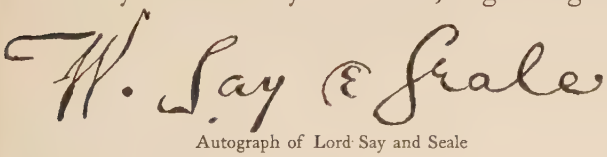
from Boston and it was no longer safe for all the freemen to attend the general court at the same time. In May, twenty-four persons appeared at the fifth general court as the deputies of eight towns. The freemen would make no elections until the deputies had been recognized. It was a change of great importance and a natural sequence of the action of May, 1632, when deputies were sent from the towns "to confer with the court about raising a public stock." The right of electing the governor and deputy-governor was resumed by the freemen and the authority of the magistrates was otherwise abridged. On one occasion, in a democratic spasm, every one of several candidates named for office by the magistrates was rejected and even Winthrop was occasionally relegated to the duties of private citizenship.

1630
1640

Map Showing Massachusetts Coast Towns

The Dignity of Birth

About this time, Lord Brooke and Viscount William Fiennes, a parliament-man better known in American history as Lord Say and Seale, began negotiations with a view to emigration from England to Massachusetts. They asked for a division of the general court into two branches, the assistants and the representatives. Subsequently, this change was made. When they asked for hereditary seats in the upper house, John Cotton made answer for the magistrates: "Where God blesseth any branch of any noble or generous family with a spirit and gifts fit for government, it would be a taking of God's


Autograph of Lord Say and Seale

1630 1640 name in vain to put such a talent under a bushel, and a sin against the honor of magistracy to neglect such in our public elections. But if God should not delight to furnish some of their posterity with gifts fit for magistracy, we should expose them rather to reproach and prejudice, and the commonwealth with them, than exalt them to honor, if we should call them forth when God doth not to public authority."

A Standing Council

As if to substantiate the claim that there was an organized attempt to establish a hereditary order to attract rich and powerful immigrants from England, the general court ordered that the court for the election of magistrates to be holden in the following May, "& soe from tyme to tyme, as occacion shall require, shall elect a certaine number of magistrates for tearme of their lyves." At the time appointed, "Henry Vane, Esquire" was elected governor for the year next ensuing and John Winthrop, senior, and Thomas Dudley were chosen, each "to be one of the standing counsell for the tearme of his life." In the following year, Endecott was similarly chosen for life — the last to be elevated to the short-lived dignity. When, three or four years later, it was proposed to give a life tenure to the governor, the freemen were aroused and took all "magistratical" powers from the council. Soon after that the eviscerated council died. Up to this time, Massachusetts had no statutory system and the authority of the common law was not recognized. The assistants or magistrates performed the functions of justices of the peace, each with no other guide than his Bible, conscience, and reason. This gave them great power and often rendered their proceedings arbitrary and uncertain. The people were clamorous for a code of standing laws and a long struggle followed; a struggle on the part of democracy to get its head out of water. Winthrop pleaded that "justice, not less than mercy, imposed the duty of regulating the punishment by the circumstances of the case" and the people raised high the cry of arbitrary power.

March 3, 1635=March 13, 1636

May, 1636

At the request of the general court, the Reverend John

Cotton prepared the first code, called "Moses his Judicials." It was submitted to the general court in October, 1636, but was not adopted. In December, 1641, a body of a hundred laws, known as "The Body of Liberties" and submitted by the Reverend Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, was adopted. The endless repetitions of the common legal phraseology had brought English law into disrepute as something incomprehensible. As Edward Eggleston has pointed out, lawyers were forbidden in the colonial courts. Because of this prejudice against law and lawyers, these laws were called liberties. "A man had the liberty of being hanged in certain cases. Somebody saw the absurdity, and appended a note explaining that liberty meant law, and the experiment of using this term for laws was not again tried in Massachusetts." In 1645, the ministers formally declared that the authority of the assistants was not derived from the freemen or to be limited by them. The deputies yielded and a complete code of laws was not secured until 1649. Samuel Stone, who had ample opportunity to know, said of the Congregational meeting: "It was a speaking aristocracy in the face of a silent democracy."

1640
1650
Legal Codes

Autograph of Ward

The authority that the assistants exercised in intervals between the sessions of the general court caused fear and the deputies proposed a joint commission. When the matter was assigned for future deliberation and the assistants gave notice that they intended, in the meantime, to perform their proper functions as prescribed by the charter, an excited deputy exclaimed: "You will not be obeyed." In 1642, the assistants and deputies, sitting together as a general court, reversed the decision of an inferior tribunal as to whether the legal right and title to a certain sow inhered in Captain Keayne or in Mrs. Sherman. The assistants, sitting as a separate body, immediately reversed the decision of the general court of which they had formed a part. The conflict of authority was quickly brought to a decisive issue and it was agreed

Assistants versus Deputies

May 7, 1644

1640 that the magistrates and the deputies should sit as sepa-
1650 rate houses with concurrent jurisdiction in all matters. A bill might originate in either chamber; the assent of both chambers was essential to the validity of any enactment. In 1645, the magistrates set aside a military election at Hingham. This interference was resented by the popular party and was brought before the general court. The incident was made memorable in the history of the colony by the so-called impeachment of Winthrop, then the deputy-governor, and by his famous "little speech" on Liberty. The new law lessened the authority of the magistrates over the militia.

Population and Depopulation

If "the Puritan was troubled by what he ought to believe, he was even more troubled by what he ought to do." He was working out a political, religious, and social ideal, a part of which was an improved economic condition. William B. Weeden has reminded us that when the expectation of a new world in England made Puritans less anxious to leave and drew many fiery colonists back to the mother country to join in the open struggle, a long-continued stimulus was withdrawn and prices fell more than half. To such unfavorable conditions as poor soil, harsh climate, lack of capital and of commodities for export, now was added a real danger in attempts to depopulate New England. The emigration from the towns about Boston to the Connecticut valley, due chiefly to dissatisfaction with the measures of the dominant theocracy, was not especially alarming to Winthrop and his associates for it involved only a scattering, not a loss, of New England population. But in the two decades following 1640, there were several attempts so serious that they led to active efforts to suppress the threatened exodus. The disturbance was much more profound than is generally supposed. One of the most alarming of these attempts was that of Lord Say and Seale and others to induce emigration from New England to their island of Old Providence (or Catalina) in the Caribbean Sea and off the Mosquito Coast. But the rush to the West Indies did

May, 1645 not last long and it was soon reported from London that

"the people generally here now begin to disrelish the West Indies and turn their faces towards New England, which is in better credit among all sorts and degrees than it hath been for some years past." 1640 1650

A Checked Immigration

Under these new conditions, the new community broadened its system of industry. Agriculture and fisheries were supplemented by ship-building, and barter or "country pay" flowed as the life-blood of a growing commerce. With wide-open eye, the New England colonist toiled, traded, and prayed. Having sold his wine, Stephen Winthrop wrote to his father: "Blessed bee God, well sold!" For the next century and a half New England received few immigrants, but royal neglect was worth more than shiploads of recruits. Cromwell sent "sundry" Scotch prisoners to Boston in 1652, a few Huguenots came in 1685, and, in 1719, several Presbyterian families from the north of Ireland settled at Londonderry in New Hampshire. Negro slaves and "redemptioners," i.e., indented white servants, were very few. The shipment of convicts from England to America has been the subject of much recent investigation which shows that, while undesirable social units were introduced thus and otherwise, most of the few convicts sent to New England were felons only in the eye of martial law. In general, the New England settlers were of sturdy English stock and of remarkable social homogeneity.

The Impeachment of Winthrop

In 1640, Dudley was governor for the second time and, in 1641, Richard Bellingham was chosen by a majority of six in a total poll of about fourteen hundred. Bellingham's conduct was not wholly creditable and he was not chosen again until 1654. At the end of his official year, the colony was glad enough again to call the veteran Winthrop — "King Winthrop" his opponents called him. Then "there arose a scruple about the oath which the governor and the rest of the magistrates were to take, viz: about the first part of it, 'you shall bear true faith 1642

Autograph of Bellingham

1640 and allegiance to our sovereign lord, King Charles,'
1650 seeing he had violated the privileges of parliament and made war upon them; . . . whereupon it was thought fit to omit that part of it for the present." It was many years before there was any public recognition of royal authority in Massachusetts. In the following year, Winthrop was reëlected for another term which was signalized by the division of the colony into four counties, the bicameral constitution of the legislature as already recorded, and the confederation of the four New England colonies. After that, for two years, he was relegated to the subordinate position of deputy-governor. In their clamor for fuller recognition in affairs of government, the people went to the extreme of treating their ablest servant with contumely and he, of his own accord, "placed himself beneath the bar, and so sat uncovered," saying that he had taken the fit place for one accused. At this, "many, both of the court and the assembly, were grieved." This attempted "impeachment," an incident of the Hingham election trouble already recorded, was a failure. The popular spasm was over. In 1646, Winthrop was again chosen governor and held the office until his death.

1644–45

Cautious Statesmanship

Entangling alliances, political and ecclesiastical, were sagaciously avoided. Winthrop wrote that "if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us. It might prove very prejudicial to us." So, too, when Cromwell and others sent a letter urging Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Davenport, the clerical representatives of three colonies, "to come over with all possible speed, all, or any of them if all cannot," as deputies to the Westminster assembly of divines, they "liked not the business" and declined to go "three thousand miles to plead for independency with Presbyterians in England." But the colonists did not shut their eyes to possible advantages and, in 1641, the general court of Massachusetts sent three chosen men to England "to be ready to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the

country here, as also to give any advice, as it should be required, for the settling of the right form of church discipline there." Subsequently, the house of commons acknowledged that "the plantations in New England had, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to this state" and decreed that there should be no custom or other duty on commerce between Old England and the New "until the house of commons shall take order to the contrary." 1640 1650

Dexterity and Determination

The issue between parliament and king was uncertain and the course of Massachusetts was skilfully directed to avoid the rocks between which she had to pass. The New England confederacy had been built a year and the Long Parliament was four years old when one Richardson, bearing a parliamentary commission, threatened a Dartmouth vessel in "the king's service." Governor Endecott was away from Boston and Deputy-governor Winthrop ordered Richardson to come on shore. Richardson was not prompt in his obedience and a shot from the shore battery did some damage to his ship's rigging. When the captain saw forty men pulling from the wharf toward his vessel, he "came ashore and acknowledged his error and his sorrow." Not only did the colony thus enforce in her harbors a neutrality between the contending English factions, but she manifested otherwise her determination to withstand any hurtful authority to the extent of her ability. She even fixed the penalty of death for any "attempt at the alteration of the frame of polity fundamentally"—a broad hint to any one who should assert the subordination of the general court to parliament. It was part of the common language of the time "that a commission could not supersede a patent."

September, 1644

The Denial of Appeal to England

The order issued in the Shawomet case implied the right of parliament to reverse the decisions of the Massachusetts government and there was in Boston a busy faction "always opposite to the civil governments of the country." In November, 1646, the Massachusetts general court assembled "for the discussion of the usurpations of parliament and the dangers from domestic

1645 1655 treachery." When the "factious spirits" appealed to England, the court would not admit the appeal. Edward Winslow, the diplomat of Plymouth and Massachusetts, who was then in England, urged that "if the parliament of England should impose laws upon us, having no burgesses in the house of commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance, we should lose the liberties and freedom of English indeed." The remonstrance of the Massachussetts general court set forth that "an order from England is prejudicial to our chartered liberties and to our well-being in this remote part of the world. . . . If any miscarriage shall befall us when we have the government in our own hands, the state of England shall not answer for it." In 1647, the parliamentary committee made reply: "We encourage no appeals from your justice. We leave you with all the freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you." Soon after this, King Charles was beheaded and Governor Winthrop died.

March 26, 1649

Endecott's Long-continued Power

In 1649, John Endecott began his second administration. Thomas Dudley was chosen governor for a year in 1650, and Richard Bellingham in 1654. With the exception of these two years, Endecott was governor until his death in 1665. During these administrations of Dudley and Bellingham, Endecott was deputy-governor. Thus the administration of Endecott practically began with the commonwealth in England and continued five years longer. It was not characterized by the able statesmanship of Winthrop's rule, but it never lacked in steadiness or courage. These qualities were strikingly manifested in the way in which Massachusetts met the attempts of Cromwell to transplant New England Puritans. Long prior to his accession to the chief power of England, Cromwell was trying to carry out his plan of transporting the Irish and of repopulating their island with New England Puritans. The letter sent to him from Massachusetts shows that systematic efforts to organize an emigration to Ireland had been maintained for nearly a year. In October, 1651, the Massachusetts

December 31, 1650

general court took a bold and open stand that abruptly terminated the negotiations. Similar attempts to draw colonists from New Haven were kept up until October, 1654, but no general migration was secured. 1650 1655

After the capture of Jamaica, in May, 1655, Cromwell made a more determined effort to populate that island with Puritans transplanted from New England. He had already tried to colonize it with criminals, paupers, and abandoned women sent from England. He now sent a special envoy, Daniel Gookin, who, in 1644, had removed from Virginia to Boston. Gookin returned from England, commissioned to announce to the New England governors the capture of Jamaica and the desire of the protector to settle the island with people "who knew and feared the Lord." The Massachussetts general court "thankfully accepted" Cromwell's letter and declined the proposal. The New Haven general court held a stormy session and decided against removal. After personal visits in Massachussetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, Gookin could count only three hundred persons who were willing to go to Jamaica, "for the most part young persons under family government and many of them females of low estate." The story of this "forgotten danger" is given in greater detail in Doctor Strong's paper cited in the bibliographical appendix to this volume. Cromwell's illiberal colonial tendencies and his disregard for the continuity of New England help to explain why the protector was not proclaimed in the Puritan colonies.

A Forgotten Danger

December 30, 1655

At first the colonists had been seriously tasked by the problem of material subsistence, but the middle of the century ushered in a new economic period. The returns of agriculture were abundant, domestic animals multiplied, the forests yielded a considerable income, and ship-building and the fisheries brought added wealth. Barter with the Indians provided furs and peltry for profitable export, and domestic trades and growing manufactures became remunerative. The furnace and foundry that the younger Winthrop, "the Worshipful Captain Bridges," and their

Industry

1650 1655 associates had established at Lynn for the manufacture of iron from the bog ore in that vicinity had drawn skilled artisans and developed dormant genius. In 1654, Boston contracted with Joseph Jenks "for an Ingine to carry water in case of fire." It was the first fire-engine built or used in America.

The Need of a Currency

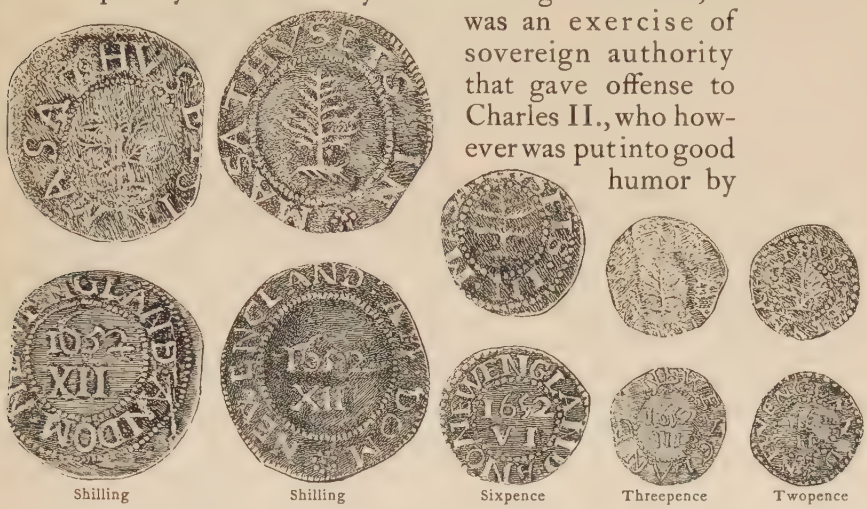
The coin that the settlers had brought from England had gone back to pay for supplies and the need of a circulating medium was a source of great embarrassment. A good illustration of the annoyance and injury arising from this cause is given by Andrew M. Davis in his monograph on *Currency and Banking in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*. The accounts of Harvard college show that, for many years, term-bills were paid in produce, live-stock, meat, and other articles of barter. The difficulty of appraising such odds and ends is obvious. In 1649, Rawson, a student, settled his term-bill with "an old cow" and the steward made separate credits for her hide and for her "suet and inwards," and a debit entry for sending for her twice. A student who delivered a cow before the steward was ready to appraise her was charged for pasturage. Another entry cited by Mr. Davis is: "Received a goat, 30s, of plantation of Watertown rate, which died." Cattle were rated by law and the price at which corn would be received by the collectors in payment of taxes was similarly fixed. In 1652, the condition of merchants and others resulting from this state of affairs was brought to the attention of the general court. Two remedies for these evils were proposed — a bank and a mint.

A Massachusetts Mint

Under such conditions, it was ordered by the court that a mint should be established and that the coins issued from it should be degraded below the value of English coins of corresponding denomination at the rate of two pence to the shilling. The openly avowed purpose of this abatement in the weights of the coins was that it "may secure our money from Transportation" from the colony. At this mint, Spanish silver brought from the West Indies, plate, and bullion were changed into New

England money, John Hull, the mint-master, doing the work and taking seigniorage. Although such action had been expressly authorized by the first Virginia charter, it was an exercise of sovereign authority that gave offense to Charles II., who however was put into good humor by

1652
1656



Shilling Shilling Sixpence Threepence Twopence

Specimens of Massachusetts Pine-tree Currency (obverse and reverse)

an artful story to the effect that the pine-tree on the coins was "the royal oak that preserved your majesty's life." When, a few years later, a writ of *scire facias* was issued against the Massachusetts charter, the general court explained, in an address to the king, that "as for the minting or stamping pieces of silver to pass amongst ourselves for XII^{d}, VI^{d}, III^{d}, we were necessitated thereunto having no staple comodity [like tobacco] in our country to pay debts or buy necessaries but Fish and Corn; which was so cumbersome and troublesome as could not be born."

October 30, 1684

In 1656, Captain Robert Keayne, he who had maintained his title to a sow against the claim of Mrs. Sherman, died. His will set aside three hundred pounds from his ample estate for a market-place "with some convenient roome or too for the courts to meete in both in Winter & Sumer, & so for the Townesmen & commissioners of the Towne, . . . a convenient roome for a Library, & a gallery or some other handsome roome for the Elders

The First Town-house

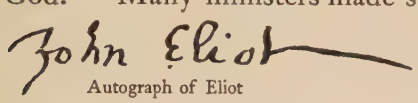
1656 to meete in; . . . also a roome for an Armory and
1658 a place for merchants." Having been a member of the Honorable Artillery company of London before coming to America, Keayne had, in 1637, organized what now is known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts and had been chosen as its first commander. The armory for which provision was made in his will was intended for its use. By subscription, the "Townesmen" more than doubled Keayne's bequest and, in August, 1657, a contract was entered into with Thomas Joy and Bartholomew Bernad for the construction of "a very Substantiall and Comely building . . . sixty-six foot in Length and thirty-six foot in Breadth from outside to outside, set upon twenty-one Pillers of full ten foot high between Pedestall & Capitall . . . the wholl Building to Jetty over three foot without the Pillers everie way . . . according to A modell or draught Presented to us" by the contractors. This Thomas Joy, architect and builder of the finest building in the colony, had suffered grievously for his participation in the Child memorial episode which will be described in the following chapter. His return to Boston and to official favor is significant of a change of public sentiment rather than of any recantation on Joy's part, for he continued to be outspoken in his criticism of magistrates and clergy at least as late as 1676. This first town-house was finished and occupied in 1658. It stood at the head of the present State street until it was destroyed by fire in 1711. On

Boston's First Town-house

its site was built the Old State House, now one of the most venerated monuments of colonial Boston. 1646 1662

Missionary Effort

In 1644, the Massachusetts general court directed the county courts "to have the Indians residing in their several shires instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." Many ministers made special preparation for the work. John Eliot, "the Indian apostle," born in England and educated at Cambridge, was then the minister of a church at Roxbury. In 1646, he began to preach to the Indians in their own tongue. In 1650, he laid out the town of Natick and gathered many of his disciples there. Inseparably connected with this good work are the names of the Thomas Mayhews, father and son, of Marthas Vineyard. Through the labors of these missionaries many were converted and "praying Indians" became a common term in colonial speech. The success and the prospect so delighted England that, in 1649, parliament passed an act "for the promoting and propagating of the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." It created a corporation in England and gave its local management to the "Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England," thus indirectly recognizing the confederacy. In 1662,



Autograph of Eliot

AN ACT
For the promoting and propagating the
GOSPEL
OF
Jesus Christ
IN
NEW ENGLAND.

Die Veneris, 27 Julii, 1649.

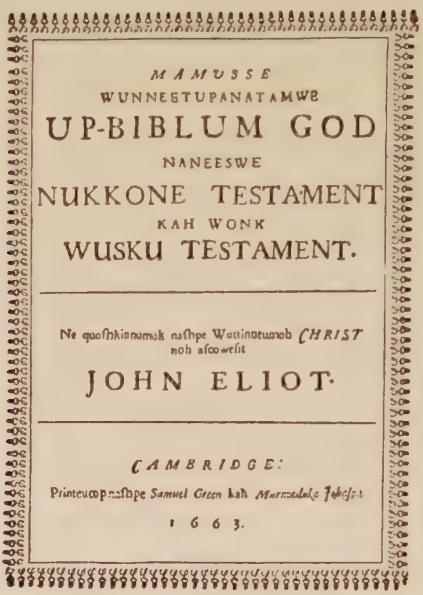
ORdered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That this Act be forthwith printed and published.

Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliament.

London, Printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Parliament of England, and are to be sold at his Shop in Fleetstreet, at the Sign of the Golden-Dragon, near the Inner-Temple, 1649.

Title-page of *An Act for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel*

1662



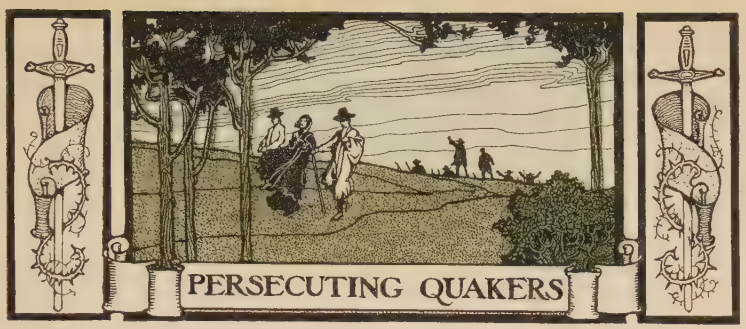
MAMUSSE
WUNNEETUPANATAMWE
UP-BIBLUM GOD
NANEESWE
NUKKONE TESTAMENT
KAH WONK
WUSKU TESTAMENT.

Ne quoſhkinnumak naſhpe Wuttinnetumoh CHRIST
noh aſcoweſit
JOHN ELIOT.

CAMBRIDGE:
Printeuoop naſhpe Samuel Green kah Marmaduke Johnſon.
1663.

Title-page of Eliot's Bible

this society was reïncorporated as "The Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts adjacent in America." The patent passed the great seal on the seventh of February. By the terms of the patent, Robert Boyle, the celebrated chemist and experimental philosopher, was made "the first Governor of the Company during good behaviour." Eliot's Indian translation of the New Testament was printed in 1661 and his translation of the Bible (the first Bible printed in the New World) appeared in 1663.



CHAPTER XVII

THE PURITAN AND THE HERETIC

THE careful reader of our story of Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and Samuel Gorton cannot have failed to notice that the transatlantic passage had not washed out the essence of ecclesiastical tyranny. Mr. Richman has reminded us that, by this time, "the Massachusetts company had pretty effectually got rid of whatever traces of a trading organization it retained after the transfer of its charter to this side of the Atlantic," and that the holding of opinions that did not square with those of John Cotton and Richard Mather was not only heterodoxy, but was also sufficient ground for punishment by the civil magistrates. For instance, according to the record of "A Quarter Court held at Boston on the First Day of the 10th Mo.," 1640, "the iury found Hugh Buets to bee gilty of heresy, & that his person & errors are dangerous for infection of others. It was ordered that the said Hugh Buet should bee gone out of our iurisdiction by the 24th present upon paine of death, & not to returne, upon paine of being hanged. The court granted the iury 12s. for their servise."

1640
1662

Heresy Hunters

December 1

In 1642, the Long Parliament abolished episcopacy and, in the following year, the famous Westminster assembly was convoked. At the critical moment of the contest in England between Independency and Presbytery, some members of the disfranchised class in Massachusetts "went about to set up some things according to the Presbytery." In 1646, Robert Child, Samuel Maverick, David Yale

Doctor Child's Memorial

1646 (the father of the founder of a great American university), and four others who felt aggrieved by the restriction of the suffrage to the members of the Congregational churches sent to the general court a remonstrance and petition declaring that the government of the colony was not "according to the laws of England," as was required by the Massachusetts charter. In keen and yet respectful language, it set forth that, while "you whom the Lord hath placed at the helme of these plantations and endowed with eminent gifts fitt for such honourable callings are best able to forsee the clouds which hang over our heads, the storms and tempests, . . . those who are under decks, being at present unfit for higher employments, may perceive those leaks which will inevitably sink this weake and ill compacted vessel. . . .

Complaint

"Whereas there are many thousands in these plantations of the English nation, freeborne, quiett, and peaceable men, righteous in their dealings, forward with heart, hand, and purse to advance the public good, . . . who are debarred from all civill imployments (without any just cause that we know) not being permitted to bear the least office (though it cannot be denyed that some are well qualified) no not so much as to have any votes in choosing magistrates, captains, or other civill and military officers; . . . we therefore desire that civill liberty and freedom be forthwith granted to all truely English, equall to the rest of their countrymen, as in all plantations is accustomed to be done, and as all freeborne enjoy in our native country. . . .

Entreaty

"Whereas there are diverse sober, righteous and godly men, eminent for knowledge and other gracious gifts of the holy spirit no wayes scandalous in their lives and conversation, members of the church of England (in all ages famous for piety and learning) not dissenting from the latest and best reformation of England, Scotland, &c. yet they and their posterity are deteined from the seales of the covenant of free grace, because, as it is supposed, they will not take these churches covenants, for which as yet they see no light in God's word, . . . we there-

fore humbly intreat you . . . to give liberty to members of the church of England, not scandalous in their lives and conversations (as members of these churches) to be taken into your congregation and to enjoy with you all those liberties and ordinances Christ hath purchased for them and into whose name they are baptised, that the Lord may be one and His name one amongst us in this place; that the seales of the covenant may be applied to them and their posterity as we conceive they ought to be, till inconveniences hereby be found prejudiciall to the churches and colony (which we hope will never be) . . . or otherwise to grant liberty to settle themselves here in a church way according to the best reformations of England and Scotland, if not, we and they shall be necessitated to apply our humble desires to the honourable houses of parliament." 1646

Threat

Purpose

The petitioners, according to their own statement, were men who were required, under penalty, to go to the Congregational church every Lord's Day, often to linger there to see administered to other men's children baptism that was denied to their own, and to contribute to the maintenance of ministers "who vouchsafed not to take them into their flock, though desirous of the ordinances of God." To most modern readers, the petition seems so reasonable that great pains have been taken to show that, under the cloak of asking for the removal of grievances, these men were really taking advantage of the discontent of the disfranchised citizens of Massachusetts in order to put in an entering wedge; that it was all the work of a "cabal for the establishment of Presbyterianism in New England." Evidently this view of the case is not an invention of the "filio-pietistic school of historians," for the general court acted promptly on that theory. The petition was dismissed, the petitioners were fined, and a "Declaration" was prepared and published for effect at home and abroad. Subsequently, as Child and Dand, two of the petitioners, were about to start for England, presumably to rehearse their grievances, their papers were seized by the magistrates. Among these

Punishment

1646 papers was a memorial to the parliamentary board of commissioners. This memorial was signed by those who had signed the petition to the general court and asked for Presbyterian churches and a governor-general. This was little less than treason. The "remonstrants" were fined again and sent to prison for six months, after which some of them went to London never to return. Edward Winslow of Plymouth was soon sent over sea to thwart their schemes and those of Samuel Gorton who had lately gone to England. Then came a pamphlet war and the decisive defeat of Presbyterianism in the mother country. Mr. Fiske assures us that "the cabal accomplished nothing," and one may almost detect an overtone of triumph in his added words, "Pride's Purge settled all that." But Massachusetts was to hear again from Samuel Maverick. While it is perfectly fair to try to view this incident in the light of the middle seventeenth century—as many have done—it seems not less fair to try to put one's self in the place of one of the remonstrants—as few have done.

The Cambridge Platform

In 1637, while the Antinomian controversy was at its height, the first Cambridge synod assembled and, "smiting under the fifth rib the hydra of error," pronounced condemnation upon eighty-two erroneous and unsafe opinions. A few years later, about the time of the discovery of the Maverick cabal, the Massachusetts general court convoked a synod of representatives from the churches of the confederated colonies. This council

September 1

came together at the Cambridge meeting-house to complete the organization of Congregationalism. The "Platform of church discipline gathered out of the Word of God" followed the lines of the Westminster confession, defined the powers of the clergy, and proclaimed the duty of the magistrates "to restrayn and punish idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, and the venting of opinions that destroy the foundations." While the platform was building, the general court sent twelve gallons of sack and six of white wine "as a small testimony of the court's respect to the reverend assembly of elders at Cambridge."

The work of the synod was finished in 1648, laid before the congregations, and adopted. In October, 1651, the Massachusetts general court wrought the Cambridge platform into the laws of the commonwealth — the final step in the twenty years' march toward an organized theocracy. For many years, it was the final authority for the New England churches. It was appealed to as late as 1795 when the Massachusetts court declared it obsolete and held that Pastor Avery's "principles of church government were arbitrary and erroneous." Massachusetts and Connecticut soon were agitated by a controversy concerning the proper subjects of baptism. In 1657, a synod of the churches adopted what was opprobriously called the "half-way covenant." In spite of strong opposition, the more liberal practice sanctioned by this synod was gradually adopted by the Congregational churches of New England.

1648
1657

The Half-way Covenant

In 1646, the Massachusetts fathers said that they had undertaken "to provide for our safety by a law that all, whose conscience and religion seemed only to sett forth themselves and raise contentions in the country, should take notice how unwelcome they should be unto us, either coming or staying. But for such as differ only in judgment, and live peaceably amongst us, such have no cause to complain; for it hath never beene, *as yet*, putt in execution against any of them, although such are known to live amongst us." This was a mild toleration—as William Pynchon, the Baptists, and the Quakers soon found out. Pynchon had come with Winthrop in the "Arbella," had been treasurer of the colony, and before

William Pynchon

William Pynchon

1650 1651 and after his founding of the settlement at Springfield, had been a magistrate of Massachusetts. In an evil hour, he wrote a book, copies of which were received in Boston in 1650. Its teachings on the subject of the atonement disturbed the orthodox. The author was denounced as a heretic and deposed from the magistracy. The book was condemned by the court and sentenced to be publicly burned in the Boston market. In 1652, Pynchon went back to England there to spend the remainder of his days. His only offense lay in his being a century or two in advance of his age.

The Anabaptists 1637

In the year of the founding of John Clarke's church at Newport, the Massachusetts general court passed a law of banishment, the preamble of which recited that, "since the first arising of the Anabaptists, about a hundred years since, they have been the incendiaries of commonwealths." In fact, they were more dangerous to such a commonwealth as men like Winthrop and Wilson, Dudley and Endecott had set up on the shores of Massachusetts Bay than were the Antinomians. Antinomian dissent did not go beyond purely religious matters, while Anabaptist notions were irreconcilable with civil oaths, magistracy, and warfare. We need not wonder then to find the Massachusetts general court enacting that if any person should openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or "deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right or authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table," i.e., the first five commandments, precepts of piety rather than of probity, such person should be sentenced to banishment.

November 13, 1644

Clarke, Holmes, and Crandall

In 1651, two or three months before the Cambridge platform became formal Massachusetts law, John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, and John Crandall went from Newport to visit a dying brother in the church at Lynn. Clarke was pastor of the Baptist church and the other two were members of his flock. It is said that Holmes was an Oxford graduate, and Crandall was son-in-law of our stubborn friend, Samuel Gorton of Shawomet. On their first Sunday at Lynn, Clarke held a service with the

July 20

family of the sick man and a few of their friends. Their devotions were rudely interrupted by constables who marched "the certain erronious persons, being Strangers," off to the inn as prisoners. In the afternoon, constabulary zeal outran Christian charity and worldly wisdom. In spite of repeated protests and warnings, the prisoners were taken to the orthodox meeting. When Clarke would not remove his hat, the constable became his valet for that purpose. When he began to exhort the congregation, Justice Bridges had to help him hold his peace. This was exasperating, but Clarke was there against his will and had given fair notice to his tormentors. 1651

John Wilson's Curse

The next morning, the prisoners were taken to the Boston jail where they were kept ten days before trial. Governor Endecott, who presided at the trial, could not tell what law of God or of the general court they had violated, but he gave them clearly to understand that they were Anabaptists and "he would not have such trash brought into their jurisdiction." The three were sentenced to be well whipped or to pay fines; Clarke, twenty pounds; Holmes, thirty; and Crandall, five. After sentence, and in the presence of the court, Holmes exclaimed: "I bless God that I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus" — a speech that so offended John Wilson, pastor of the Boston church, that he struck Holmes and, in his passion, said: "The curse of God go with thee!"

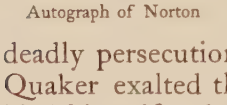
Holmes's Heroism

The two smaller fines were paid by sympathizing friends, but the heroic Holmes would have no such temporizing in his case. In the public place stood the whipping-post to which Holmes, stripped to the waist, was bound by the wrists. He took his punishment heroically — without resistance or weakness — "although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength (yea, spitting on his hand three times, as many affirmed) with a three-corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes." In his declaration to the bystanding magistrate (Endecott was not present) that "you have struck me as with roses," Mr. Palfrey sees nothing of robust pluck or of spiritual exaltation, but only an indi-

1651 1656 cation that the officer had been "instructed to do his office forbearingly!" The executioner's "forbearance" may be estimated from the fact that Holmes's back was so cut by the knotted cords "that, despite the application of healing ointments, he could not lie down for many days, but was forced to obtain repose as best he might propped upon his hands and knees." His reception on his return to the Providence Plantations was that of a conquering hero — which he was.

The Quakers

Winthrop had died in 1649 and John Cotton followed in 1652. Neither of these was an ardent devotee of religious toleration but neither had developed a talent for persecution. Winthrop's place was taken by Endecott; Cotton's mantle of influence fell upon John Norton; Mr. Fiske calls them "two as arrant fanatics as ever drew breath." Among the unfortunate consequences was a deadly persecution of the followers of George Fox. The Quaker exalted the spirit above the Scripture and humbled himself only before the "inner light," the voice of God in the soul.



Autograph of Norton

He walked by faith and not by sight,
By love and not by law;
The presence of the wrong or right
He rather felt than saw.

Putting the House in Order

Although this doctrine of private inspiration was sadly open to fanaticism in that the fancies of a mentally disordered devotee could not be subjected to any rectification, it inflicted a mortal wound on priestcraft; it was essential democracy. Hence, the wearing of the hat and the "theeing" and the "thouing," a sore cut for proud flesh. Cromwell said: "Now I see there is a people risen and come up that I cannot win either with gifts, honors, offices, or places, but all other sects and people I can." The fame of the Quakers preceded them to New England where the first comers were regarded as half fanatic half insane. In May, 1656, before the first one had set foot on Massachusetts soil, the general court appointed a day of humiliation to seek the face of God on behalf of

England, "abounding with errors, especially those of the Ranters and the Quakers." 1656

The First Quaker Missionaries to New England July 11

The council record shows that Simon Kempthorn, master of the ship "Swallow," had brought from Barbados to Boston Anne Austin and Mary Fisher, Quakers, "who upon examination are found . . . to hold very dangerous, heretical, and blasphemous opinions; and they do also acknowledge that they came here purposely to propagate their said errors and heresies." The council ordered that all "corrupt books" brought in by the aforesaid persons be forthwith burned by the common executioner; that the said Anne and Mary be kept in close prison at the expense of the said Simon Kempthorn who was enjoined to transport them to the island whence they came. He was to give security for so doing, or to be "committed to prison till he do it." The whole order constitutes what Mr. Gay calls a judicious hint to all shipmasters to be more cautious in assorting their cargoes. After five weeks' imprisonment, during which they were stripped and examined for signs of witchcraft, the women were sent by the "Swallow" back to Barbados. The jailer kept their beds and Bibles for his fees and the returned Governor Endecott declared: "If I had been there I would have had them well whipped."

More Quakers August 7

Hardly had the "Swallow" spread her wings, when a ship from London brought to Boston eight or nine more Quakers, of whom four were women. Two of the men were Christopher Holder and John Copeland. Guiltless of any crime, these persons were promptly sent to jail. Endecott gave the prisoners fair warning to "take heed ye break not our ecclesiastical laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter," and one of the women saluted him as tyrant and oppressor and foretold against him the smiting wrath of God. The master of the vessel was put under bonds to take the prisoners back to England at his own cost, which he did after a few days' taste of prison fare.

These arrests were purely arbitrary, but the general court soon enacted prohibitions and penalties that fully

1656
1657

Anti-Quaker Legislation October, 1656

met the Puritan ideas of necessity and propriety. It provided that if any shipmaster should bring into Massachusetts any known member of the cursed sect of heretics commonly called Quakers he should be heavily fined and required to carry said heretics back to the place whence they came; that any Quaker coming into the jurisdiction should be forthwith imprisoned, severely whipped, and kept constantly at work (a provision of unintentional humanity); that any person who defended the heretical opinions of the Quakers should be fined for the first and the second offenses, and banished for the third; and "lastly, that if any person shall revile the office or person of magistrates or ministers, as is usual with the Quakers, he shall be severely whipped or pay the sum of five pounds." The law was approved by the commissioners of the united colonies and enacted by the other three members of the confederacy. Massachusetts, which, so far, had treated Narragansett Bay with haughty insolence, soon, with stiff-kneed courtesy and through the commissioners of the united colonies, asked the Providence Plantations to indulge in similar legislation. The result has already been recorded.

September 12, 1657

The Persistent Missionary Spirit

In spite of this law, Mary Dyer, who had been exiled with Anne Hutchinson and whose husband was secretary of Rhode Island, arrived from England and Anne Burden, another Antinomian exile, came with her. They were promptly lodged in Boston jail as Quakers. Secretary Dyer was permitted to take his wife to Newport and Anne Burden was shipped back to England. Six of those who had been sent back to England in 1656 returned with recruits. They landed at New Amsterdam in June. By way of Rhode Island, some of them passed on to Massachusetts. One of them, Mary Clarke, went to Boston where she was given twenty lashes and was banished. In July, the returned Christopher Holder and John Copeland, Quakers, began missionary work at Salem. Their success was so evident that when Holder attempted to speak in the meeting-house after the approved service, he was held down by the hair and

1657

had a glove and a handkerchief thrust into his mouth. 1657
When Samuel Shattock interfered, he was arrested. 1658
Each of the Quakers received thirty lashes, but Shattock was released on bail — he soon had ample satisfaction. Others were arrested and Endecott gave orders that all be soundly whipped twice a week, "to begin with fifteen lashes and add three each time."

Legal Maim

But other Quakers came, other banished Quakers returned, and converts multiplied. The law of 1656 was a palpable failure and, in October, 1657, Puritan refugees from the cruelties of the Anglican hierarchy brought forth a law that punished the banished and returning Quaker with the amputation of one ear for the first offense and of the other for a second; a third offense was to be punished by boring the tongue with a hot iron. Mr. Gay, who tells the story with an admirable indignation, quotes an official warrant to the marshal to "take with you the executioner and repair to the house of correction and there see him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous, Quakers." In *The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, Mr. Hallowell says that the tongue-boring and the branding penalties were not inflicted in the colony.

Legal Murder

Endecott's "private and illegal luxury" of semi-weekly whippings made Quaker converts. Where the harrowing was most thorough, the harvest was most abundant. In many cases, the details of the punishments inflicted are so sickening that it seems best to pass by in silence some of those tender mercies of John Endecott and the Massachusetts magistrates. The law of 1657 was another palpable failure and, in 1658, still more decisive steps were taken. By a single accidental vote, the penalty of death was hung over the head of any banished Quaker who dared to return. The absent deacon-deputy hastened to the general court and demanded that his vote be recorded against the fatal bill, but he was late and the magistrates were unyielding.

October 19

White Slavery

When Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick were imprisoned, whipped, and banished, they found tender care

1658 1659 at the now historic home of the Sylvesters on Shelter Island, a dainty morsel held in the jaws that form the eastern extremity of Long Island. Then the Massachusetts general court made this order: "Whereas, Daniel Southwick and Provided Southwick, son and daughter of Lawrence Southwick, absenting themselves from the public ordinances, having been fined ten pounds each by the courts of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estates, and resolving not to work, the Court, upon perusal of a law which was made upon account of debts, in answer to what should be done for the satisfaction of the fines, resolves, That the treasurers of the several counties are and shall be fully empowered to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes, to answer the said fines." When the sheriff sought transportation for the Quaker maid, he found that there was not a sea-captain in the port of Boston who would turn slave-dealer to please the general court.

> Pile my ship with bars of silver — pack with coins of Spanish gold,
> From keel-piece up to deck-plank, the roomage of her hold,
> By the living God who made me! — I would sooner in your bay
> Sink ship and crew and cargo, than bear this child away!

The Execution of Robinson and Stevenson

In April, 1659, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Nicholas Davis, and Patience Scott, a girl of eleven years, were imprisoned. Three months later the court expressed the opinion that "Satan is put to his shifts to make use of such a child," and so they sent her home — a solitary gleam of light. About this time, the banished Mary Dyer returned to Boston to visit Friends in prison. She quickly found them for she was promptly arrested. In September, Robinson, Stevenson, Davis, and Mrs. Dyer were banished under the penalty of death. The first two still went from place to place "to build up their friends in the faith" and, in October, Mary Dyer returned to Boston. On Boston Common, Robinson and Stevenson, with the unfaltering fortitude of conscious martyrdom, suffered the extreme penalty of the law, and Mary Dyer stood upon the scaffold with the fatal noose about her neck.

October 27, 1659

Standing thus face to face with the dead and the doomed, would that Endecott might have heard, echoing backward from the depths of future years, these words of humanity and wisdom: "From the midst of the cloud with which human imperfection has surrounded her, the voice of Truth, like that of the Almighty from the Mount, will be heard reiterating to nations as well as to individuals, the great command, 'Thou shalt not kill.'" Instead of this the governor's ear had been filled with the pleadings of a son for his mother's life and, at the last moment, a reprieve was shouted forth across the common. It is claimed that the dramatic scene had been contrived for effect, that the son's plea had been granted before Mary Dyer left her prison for the gallows-tree — in short, that the Massachusetts magistrates had been guilty of what, in the common speech of our day, is called a grand-stand play. Two days later, Mary Dyer was again banished from Massachusetts — the magistrates got a little credit for clemency and it is probable that they really did not want to hang a woman. In the following March, she was once more "moved" to go to Boston and, on the first of June, 1660, "she did hang as a flag for others to take example by," the derisive remark of a Massachusetts magistrate, one Humphrey Atherton. But the "example" had little of terror for such a people as the Quakers. William Leddra had been banished; he now returned and was doomed to die. At the moment of pronouncing the sentence, into the court boldly walked Winlock Christison, another banished Quaker! The magistrates were stricken dumb. Would nothing terrify this people? Would these hangings never cease? Leddra would not recant and so he was led to Boston Common where he undaunted died in March, 1661 — the last.

1659
1661

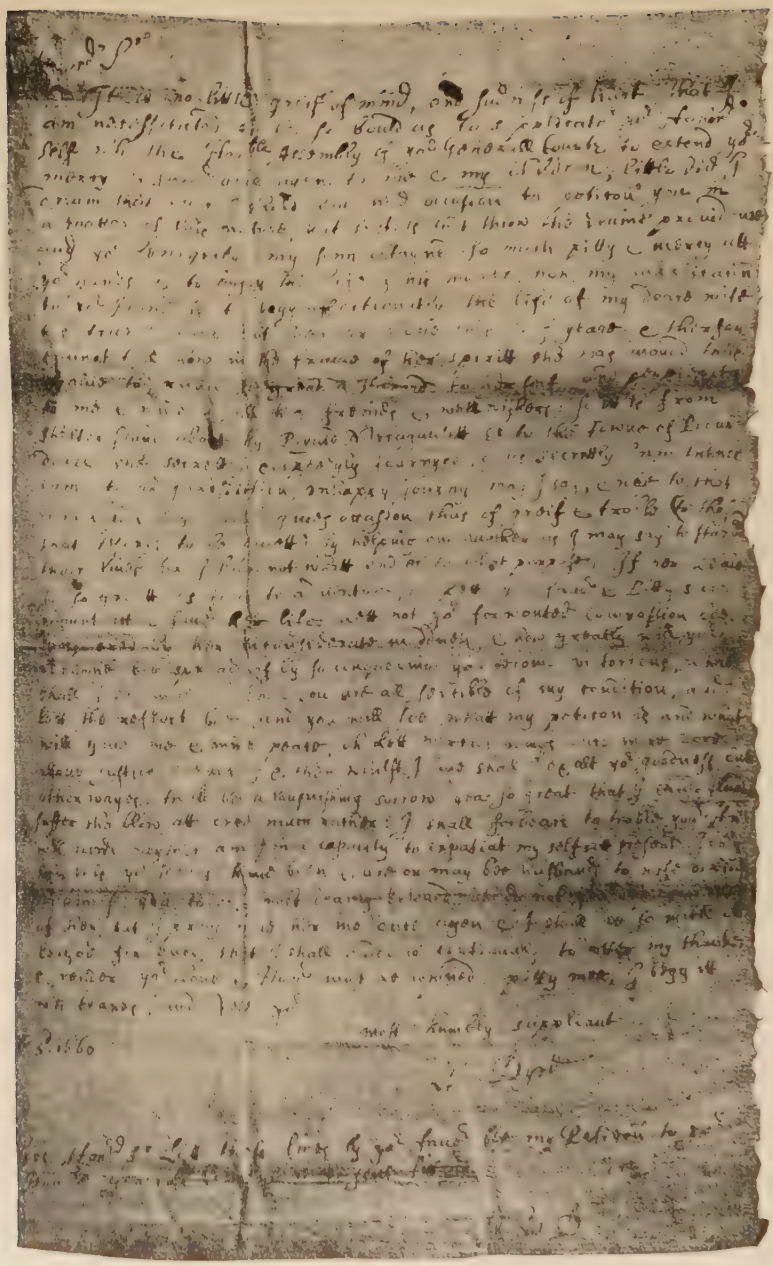
The Execution of Mary Dyer

The Execution of Leddra November, 1660

Autograph of Christison

When the news of Leddra's fate was received in England, Edward Burroughs said to the king: "A vein of innocent blood has been opened in your dominion," and

The King's Missive



Letter by William Dyer

Charles exclaimed, "I will stop the vein!" Good as his word for once, Charles II. promptly called his secretary and dictated the famous order addressed "To our trusty and well-beloved John Endecott, Esq., and to all and every other the governor or governors of our plantations." It forbade further proceedings against the Quaker prisoners and directed that they and the charges against them be sent to England. The English Quakers seem to have had a keen sense of the fitness of things, for they quickly hired a ship and sent the royal order by the hand of Samuel Shattock. It is probable that Shattock felt a pardonable satisfaction as he came into the presence of Endecott with his hat on his head and the king's missive in his pocket.

1661

September 9

> "Off with the knave's hat!" An angry hand
> Smote down the offence; but the wearer said,
> With a quiet smile, "By the king's command
> I bear his message and stand in his stead."
> In the Governor's hand a missive he laid
> With the royal arms on its seal displayed,
> And the proud man spake as he gazed thereat,
> Uncovering, "Give Mr. Shattuck his hat."

The agitated Endecott withdrew awhile and then took Shattock with him to the deputy-governor. After a brief conference, Endecott simply said, "We shall obey his majesty's commands."

The Vagabond Act May 22

Prior to Shattock's arrival, Massachusetts had passed an act in which it was provided that domiciled Quakers were to be banished and then treated as vagabonds, while undomiciled or vagabond Quakers were to be stripped to the waist, tied to the tail of a cart, and thus flogged from town to town out of the commonwealth. This really was in mitigation of the penalties of the act of 1658, for which the "vagabond act" was an intended substitute. In fact, the fire of persecution had burned itself nearly out. New England was weary of the doings of her magistrates before the king sent his missive and obedience was more prompt than usual. More than a score of Quakers were discharged from Boston jail and the whipping-post replaced the gallows. But no prisoners were sent to England as directed in the king's missive; that

1661

A Royal Recantation June 28, 1662

would have been to violate one of the most cherished Puritan principles. Within a year, the merry monarch wrote to the governor of Massachusetts that he was not to be understood "to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary, by the advice of parliament, to make a sharp law against them, and are well contented that you do the like there."

Historical Duty

The persecution of the Quakers by Puritan New England is not pleasing history. Of course we shall not forget that for three hundred years before the era of Philip II. of Spain it had been the uncontested rule in church and state that the obstinate dissident, or heretic, was to be put to death by fire. Even men of the largest Christian charity accepted this as one of the eternal verities and he who ventured to question it became himself a heretic who must either recant or share the same fate. In continuation of this historical résumé, Henry C. Lea reminds us that in the tremendous struggle of the Reformation "each side was equally sure that it alone possessed the true faith, which was to be vindicated with fire and sword. If the canon law required sovereigns to put heretics to death, Luther, in 1528, subscribed to a declaration of the Wittenberg theologians prescribing the same fate for those whom they classed as such. If Paul IV., in 1555, decreed that all who denied the Trinity should be pitilessly burned, he but followed the example that Calvin had set two years before. If France had her feast of Saint Bartholomew, Germany had led the way in the slaughter of the Anabaptists. If Spain had her inquisition, England, in 1550, under the reforming Edward VI., created a similar organization with Cranmer at its head." In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and thence down to our own times, we often find men struggling for freedom of conscience who, sometimes unconsciously, only wanted freedom to coerce the consciences of others. Even John Knox and Roger Williams fell short of perfection on this side. And so the review leads us up to

Mr. Lea's declaration that the Massachusetts law of 1658, under which Quakers were put to death on Boston Common, "was the inevitable result of the deplorable doctrine of exclusive salvation, which rendered the extinction of heresy a duty to God and man." 1662

It has been urged that some of the Quakers were extravagant and foolish and that they mocked the civil and religious institutions of the country. But their abusiveness of language was fairly matched by the dainty bit that Cotton Mather proffered to queasy stomachs in his apology for persecution. Some of them were charged with witchcraft, but so were some who were otherwise altogether orthodox. It is further urged that the Quakers "riotously interrupted public worship; and that women, forgetting the decorum of their sex, and claiming a scriptural precedent for their caprices," walked through the streets of Salem and Newbury as Lady Godiva rode at Coventry. But the Puritan authorities had flogged through the streets women bared to their waists and had ordered Anne Austin and Mary Fisher stripped naked for examination. We are told that the Quakers "had no rights or business here; and a simple prohibition ought to have been sufficient to release their consciences from all obligations to meddle with other people's consciences." To this, the prompt Quaker answer was: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, Judge ye." And so they braved the perils of the sea to seek the perils of the land—the martyr pioneers of American religious liberty. "The theocracy of the Puritans—where is it? The democracy of the Quakers—where is it not?" Pro and Con

CHAPTER XVIII

A GLIMPSE AT PLYMOUTH

1632
1661

Progressive Prosperity

AFTER ten years' residence at Plymouth, the Pilgrims numbered fewer than three hundred and the permanency of the settlement was a matter of uncertainty. In 1632, several of the "Mayflower" families settled at Duxbury and there Myles Standish took up a home on what is still known as Captain's Hill. In 1633, William Holmes was sent to the valley of the Connecticut to wrestle with the Dutch. When, in 1636, the Dorchester planters migrated thither, the Plymouth people made complaint of being robbed "of that which they had with charge and hazard provided, and *intended to remove to*, as soon as they could and were able." Then a great and fearful earthquake came, "as if the Lord would hereby show the signs of his displeasure in their shaking apieces and removals one from another." But industry and the growth of Massachusetts Bay brought prosperity to Plymouth. "It pleased God, in these times, so to bless the country with such access and confluence of people into it, as it was thereby much enriched, and cattle of all kinds stood at a high rate for divers years together." A company rented the traffic with the Indians on the Kennebec for a sixth of the profits, with the first fruits of which the colonists built a prison—a sign of permanency of settlement.

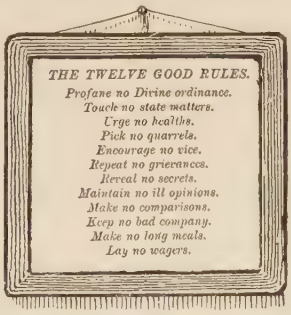
June 1, 1638

Standish Relics (pot, platter, and table)

After twelve years' service as governor, Bradford was, at his own request, retired in 1633; Edward Winslow was his successor. There were then sixty-eight freemen, while the tax-list (the earliest now known) contained the names of eighty-six men and three women. In the following year, Thomas Prince was made governor and a colonial tax of fifty-eight pounds and seventeen shillings was assessed. By this time, the number of "taxables" had diminished to seventy-seven men and four women — our first intimation of the American "tax dodger." When Winslow went to England to defend the Massachusetts charter, he was also charged with the final adjustment of the mercantile affairs of Plymouth. His diplomatic mission seems to have been generally successful, although he was taken to task for officiating in religious ministrations and magisterial marryings and was committed to Fleet prison where he lay four months. The delay was to his disadvantage in the negotiations with the London partners who had come to the help of the colony in 1627, when the company of London adventurers went to pieces. Accounts had been unbalanced year after year and the colonists believed that they had remitted more than enough to discharge their debts. The embarrassments became distressing to persons who, as Mr. Palfrey says, could neither consent to fall short of their engagements nor afford to go much beyond them.

1633

Edward Winslow



The Twelve Good Rules

The uneasiness of the Plymouth people was increased by their ill success in securing a satisfactory successor for the venerated Robinson whom they had left at Leyden. John Lyford had proved a poor investment and was shipped back to England in disgrace. Rogers, a young man (first name unknown to me), whom Allerton brought from England in 1628, proved to be "crazed in his brain, so they were fain to be at further charge to send him back again the

Plymouth Ministers

1635 next year." Ralph Smith was soon seen to be a
1638 man of mean abilities and, in 1635, Winslow brought John Norton from England to assist him. Norton seems to have been satisfactory to them but he remained only through a winter and then went to Massachusetts Bay. After six or seven years, the colonists permitted Smith to withdraw, "partly by his own willingness and partly at the desire and persuasion of others." Then it pleased the Lord to send them a Mr. Raynor, godly, meek, and commonplace. In 1638, Charles Chauncey was brought to Raynor's aid. He was a reverend, godly, and very learned man, but soon announced his belief in the doctrine of baptism by immersion. After a three years' stay and by his own choice, he withdrew from Plymouth church. This ministerial dearth was fairly matched by the want of legal provision for education.

A Plymouth Code

The scanty records of the first sixteen years at Plymouth show that the government was chiefly occupied with police and military regulations, the division of lands, the settlement of estates, etc. Three pages of the book of laws begun in 1623 were sufficient to contain the half-dozen enactments of the next half-dozen years, but it is recorded that "divers were found worthy the reforming, others the rejecting, and others fit to be instituted and made." In 1636, a committee was chosen to assist the governor and assistants in codifying the laws. The code provided for the election of a governor, seven assistants, a treasurer, a clerk, constables, and other inferior officers, on the first Tuesday of each March, closely circumscribed official authority, and reserved the chief part of legislation and administration for the freemen.

The Pilgrim Monument

Pilgrim Loyalty

By this time, Massachusetts and the new western settlements were clearly aiming at independence of

English authority. When Winslow, on behalf of the New England plantations, petitioned the commissioners for foreign plantations to give special warrant unto the English to fight and defend themselves against all foreign enemies, Winthrop of Massachusetts declared the step ill-advised, "for such precedents might endanger our liberty, that we should do nothing but by commission out of England." On the contrary, the oaths prescribed by the new Plymouth code included an engagement of loyalty to the king, which Massachusetts oaths did not, and courts were to be held in his name. Not even here was there free asylum, for it was decreed "that no person or persons thereafter should be permitted to live and inhabit within the government of New Plymouth without the leave and liking of the governor or two of the assistants at least." 1638

The Even Tenor of Life

In 1638, on complaint that the freemen were put to many inconveniences and great expense by their continual attendance at the courts, the court provided for the selection of deputies "to join with the bench" in legislation. Still, the freemen might assemble in courts to enact or repeal laws. At the general court of the following year, deputies appeared from Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, Sandwich, Cohannet (Taunton), Yarmouth, and Barnstable. In the same year, Massasoit and his son came into the court and, at their request, the league formerly made was "renewed and ordered to stand and remain inviolable." The first Plymouth patent prescribed no boundaries and the patent of 1630 was defective in the matter of the royal approval. When a dispute concerning lands arose between Massachusetts and Plymouth, commissioners were appointed and the matter was adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. By the patent of 1630, the council for New England granted lands to "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns," and the freemen of the seven towns represented in the general court had a natural desire for legal possession of the property they held. In 1641, Bradford surrendered to the freemen of the corporation of New 1621

1641 Plymouth all right and title granted in the said letters pat-
1646 ent by the said right honorable council for New England.

Shylock's Pound

Pilgrim Hall

The business relations of the eight Plymouth and the four London partners continued to give much vexation. The four consented to give a full discharge on the receipt of twelve hundred pounds. The Plymouth eight knew that they were losers and thought that they were ill-used. Their case became worse when, in consequence of the cessation of immigration, values of property were greatly depressed. As prices went down, the migratory spirit went up. The prospect was so dark that thoughts of removal were again entertained but, in March, 1645–46, Plymouth for the first time enjoyed the luxury of freedom from debt. In the words of John A. Goodwin, "its debts had been inflated, its funds embezzled, its trade defrauded, and its confidence betrayed; but it had borne every burden without shrinking, and had preferred to endure fraud and robbery rather than risk any sacrifice of honor."

Elder Brewster's Chair

Dispersion

In this gloomy hour, fell a heavy blow. Mr. William Brewster died in April, 1643; he "had done his part in weal and woe with this poor persecuted church, above thirty-six years, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness." When, in August, 1643, Plymouth ratified the articles of confederation of the united colonies of New England, the colony had eight towns and about three thousand inhabitants. Plymouth town gradually waned

in importance as compared with Plymouth colony. "Many having left the place, by reason of the straitness and barrenness of the same, and their finding of better accommodations elsewhere, . . . the church began seriously to think whether it were not better jointly to remove to some other place." In 1651, several families removed to Nauset and there founded the ninth town, Eastham. Parliament confirmed and enlarged the grants on the Kennebec and, in 1654, Thomas Prince was sent thither to organize a local government. Although the Pilgrim colony was not altogether prosperous, the course of events therein was much more tranquil than it was in Massachusetts or at Narragansett Bay. 1643 1658

The Passing of the Fathers

The Plymouth people had shown a remarkable loyalty and attachment to their first leaders, but the Pilgrim Fathers were passing away. Brewster had died in 1643; Winslow had been associated with the expedition against the Spanish West Indies and died at sea a few days before the conquest of Jamaica. Myles Standish laid off his armor in 1656. In the following year, William Bradford, for thirty-seven years the foremost man of Plymouth colony, went to his reward. In the month of Cromwell's death, the general court published a second revision of the laws. There were now eleven towns. The reins were firmly held; no one could become an inhabitant without the permission of the municipal authorities; the right of expulsion was freely exercised. The churches were ill provided with ministers and more than once the general court took measures to stimulate the towns to the performance of their duty. On one occasion, Massachusetts went so far as to complain to the federal commissioners concerning the remissness of Plymouth in this respect. Politics was much stirred up by the Quaker heretics and prominent citizens who befriended them were hardly dealt with. But the fanaticism of the Massachusetts magistrates was not paralleled at Plymouth. In June, 1661, when the news of the accession of Charles II.

1655

May 9, 1657

September, 1658

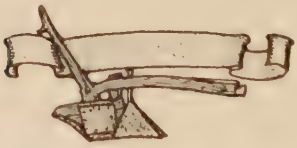
Myles Standish Coat of Arms

1661 was almost a year old, the general court of Plymouth declared that they "did most humbly and faithfully submit and oblige themselves forever to his said majesty, his heirs and successors."

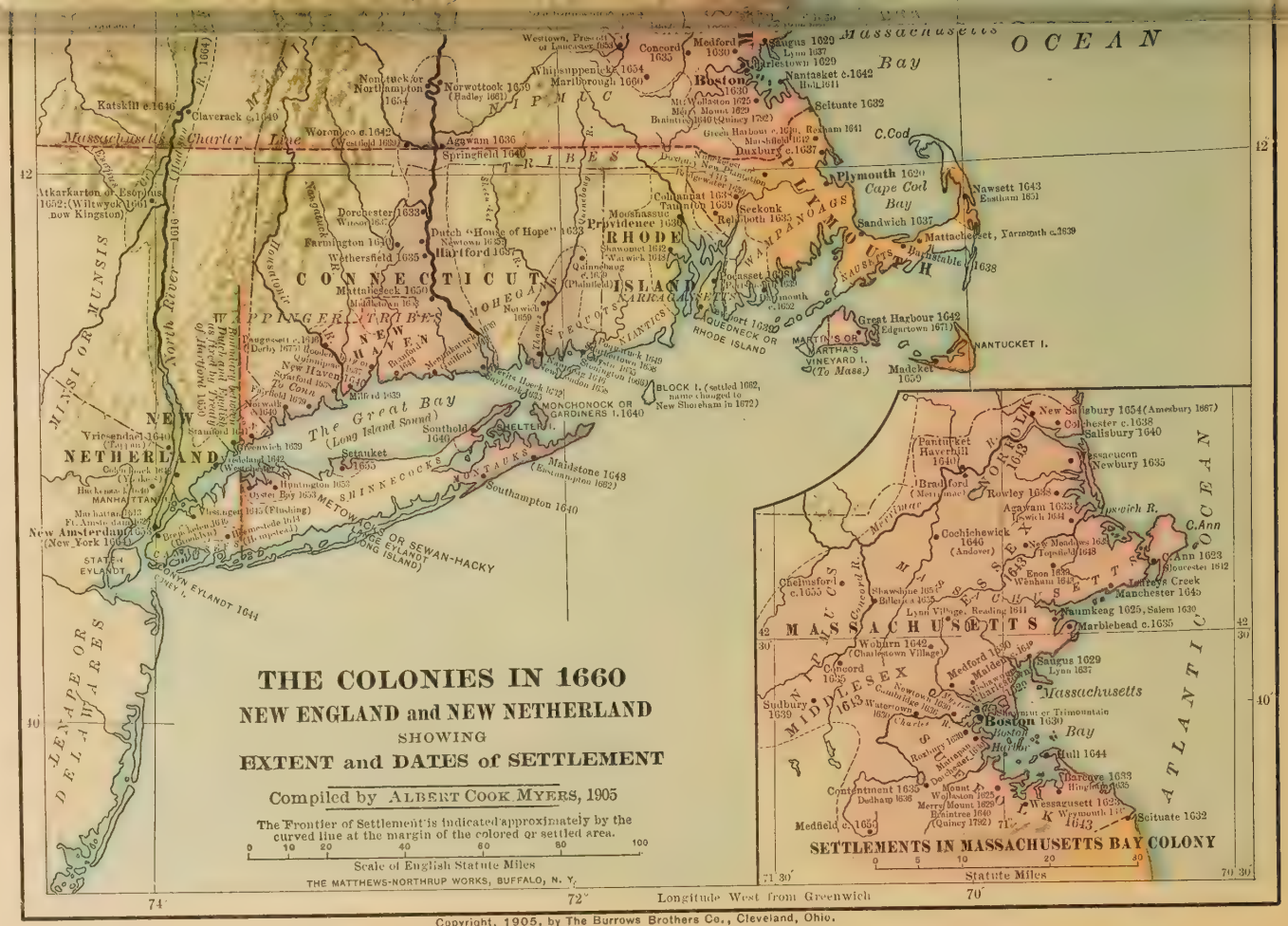
Decadence of Historical Interest

In 1643, Plymouth had entered into confederation with Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, a loose-jointed league that lasted full forty years—until the coming of Andros. John Quincy Adams tells us of its "record of incessant discord and of encroachments by the most powerful upon the weaker members," and Mr. Goodwin says that it "was a stronghold of bigotry and did much to reduce liberally-inclined Plymouth to the level of her stern associates. It was but natural that a colony should lose something of its independent thought and action by becoming one of the lesser members of such a body; that while it gained much in security and industrial progress, its self-reliance and manliness must suffer. From this period, but not alone from this cause, Plymouth history ceases to be of continuous interest."

Standish Monument, Duxbury



DUTCH SETTLEMENTS AROUND NEW AMSTERDAM
Statute Miles
PROVIDENCE and RHODE ISLAND PLANTATIONS
Statute Miles.
Boundary in dispute
Claimed by Massachusetts and Connecticut
Providence 1636
Pawtucket c.1640
Seekonk
Rehoboth 1635
Warwick 1643
Portsmouth
Newport 1639
(Pt. Judith)
NARRAGANSETT BAY
NARRAGANSETT
NIANTICS
AQUIDNECK OR RHODE ISLAND
METOWACKS OR SEWAN-HACKY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Sand Hook (Sandy Hook)
Great Bay
Long Island Sound
New Amsterdam
Manhattan
Flushing 1645
Middleburgh 1652
Rustdorp or Jamaica 1656
Bergen 1660
Bruckelen
Hackensack
Staten Island
Great New York 1645
Boundary of
Massachusetts
Farthest Claim of Massachusetts
PENNACOOK TRIBES
Lake Winnipesaukee
Kennebunk 1650
Wells 1643
C. Porpoise c 1632
Ayamentlepus 1630
Piscataqua R.
Little Harbour 1623
Isles of Shoals
Portsmouth
Exeter
Hampton
Salisbury 1640
Newbury 1635
Pentucket
Haverhill
NEW HAMPSHIRE
IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY
Schaenectady
ABENAKI TRIBE
Penobscot or Pentagoet
Castine
Sabino 1607
Sagadahoc
Kennebec R.
Androscoggin R.
Saco R.
C. Elizabeth
Richmond I. 1633
Casco Bay
Portland 1786
Falmouth
Cape Neck 1632
Monhegan I. 1623
St. Georges c 1624
St. Georges Islands
Isle au Haute
Mt. Desert
Penobscot R.
Penobscot Bay
Kennebec R.
Androscoggin R.
Saco R.
Merrimac R.
Piscataqua R.
Pemaquid
Damariscotta
Brunswick
Lake Sebago
Great Lake
Lake Winnipesaukee
Ossipee Lake
Sebago Lake
Great Ossipee R.
Great Pond
Great Lake
Great R.
Great Bay
Great Boar's Head
Great Island
Great Neck
Great Hill
Great Point
Great Island
Great Head
Great Island
Great Head
Great Island
Great Head



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APPENDIX

A LIST OF THE "MAYFLOWER" PASSENGERS, CAPE COD, NOVEMBER 11–21, 1620

IN the following list, the names of those who brought children are indicated by an asterisk (*); the names of those who left wives who soon followed them are indicated by a dagger (†). The names of those who died within the first year are printed in *italic*. The figures in parentheses following some of the names indicate ages at the time of the landing. The other figures indicate dates of deaths. "Mr." was then pronounced Master. The list generally follows that given in Ames's *The May-Flower and her Log*, as the latest and best authority.

Adult Colonists, 59

Mr. John Carver (about 60)
His Wife, Katherine
Mr. William Bradford (30) . . 1657
His Wife, Dorothy (23)
Mr. Edward Winslow (25) . . 1655
His Wife, Elizabeth (about 23)
Mr. William Brewster* (about 54) 1644
His Wife, Mary (about 51) . . 1626 ?
Mr. Isaac Allerton* (32) . . 1659
His Wife, Mary
Mr. Samuel Fuller, Surgeon† (about 30) 1633
Captain Myles Standish (36) . 1656
His Wife, Rose (younger than Myles)
Mr. Christopher Martin (about 40)
His Wife, ———
*Mr. William Mullens** (over 42)
His Wife, Alice
*Mr. William White** (about 30)
His Wife, Susanna (about 25) . 1680
Mr. Stephen Hopkins* (over 35) 1644
His Wife, Elizabeth 164–
Mr. Richard Warren† (over 45) 1628
John Howland (27) 1687
George Soule (about 21) . . . 1680
*Mr. John Crackstone** (about 35)
Francis Cooke*† (about 38) . . 1663
John Billington* (over 30) . . 1630
His Wife, Helen
Mr. Edward Tilley (about 30)
His Wife, Ann
*Mr. John Tilley** (over 35)
His Wife, Bridget
*Thomas Rogers** (over 30)
*Thomas Tinker** (over 21)
His Wife, ——— (probably over 21)
John Rigdale (over 21)
His Wife, Alice
*James Chilton** (about 40)
His Wife, Susanna (?)
*Edward Fuller** (over 25)
His Wife, ———
*John Turner** (over 30)
Francis Eaton* (about 25) . . 1633
His Wife, Sarah
Moses Fletcher (over 30)

John Goodman (over 21)
Thomas Williams (over 21)
Degory Priest† (41)
Edmond Margeson (over 21)
Richard Britteridge (over 21)
John Alderton (over 21)
Peter Browne (probably over 25) 1633
Gilbert Winslow (20)
Edward Dotey (Doten) (over 21) 1655
Richard Clarke (over 21)
Thomas English
Richard Gardiner (over 21)
John Alden (over 21) . . . 1687
Edward Leister (over 21) . . 162–

Sailors Hired for One Year, 2

William Trevor (probably about 21)
——— Ely (probably about 21)

Servants, i.e., Employés, 9

John Hooke (a lad)
Roger Wilder (probably over 21)
Solomon Prower (probably under 21)
Edward Thompson (probably under 21)
Elias Story (probably under 21)
William Holbeck (probably under 21)
Robert Carter (probably under 21)
John Langemore (probably under 21)
William Latham (about 16) . . 164–?

Youths and Children

Girls, 11

Priscilla Mullens (over 16) . after 1687
Mary Chilton 1679
Mrs. Carver's maid (probably about 20)
Elizabeth Tilley (13) dau. of John 1687
Desire Minter (about 16)
Remember Allerton (about 6)
Constance Hopkins (about 11) . 1677
Demaris Hopkins . . . . after 1666
Mary Allerton (about 4) . . . 1699
Humility Cooper
Ellen More

Boys, 21

Love Brewster (about 7) . . 1650
Wrestling Brewster . . . . 164–?
Joseph Mullens (over 16)
Bartholomew Allerton (about 8)
John Crackstone Jr. . . . . 1628?
Giles Hopkins (about 15) . . 1690
——— *Turner*
——— *Turner* (2d)
John Billington Jr. (about 16) . 1628–9
Francis Billington (about 14) after 1674
Joseph Rogers 1678
John Cooke (about 10) . . . 1695
Richard More (about 6) . . . 1656
Jasper More ("a little boy")
His Brother, ———
Henry Sampson (6) 1684
Resolved White (5) . . after 1690
——— *Tinker*
Samuel Fuller, son of Edward ("a young child," about 5) . . 1683
Samuel Eaton (infant) . . . 1684
Oceanus Hopkins (infant) before 1627

Note.—William Butten died on the voyage. On the "Mayflower," while she lay at Cape Cod Harbor, Peregrine White (son of William and Susanna) was born.

Summary

	Died	Survived	Total
Adults	36	23	59
Seamen	..	2	2
Servants	8	1	9
Girls	1	10	11
Boys	6	15	21
	51	51	102

COLONIAL GOVERNORS; 1607–1660

CONNECTICUT

John Haynes, 1639, 1641, 1643, 1645, 1647, 1649, 1651, 1653.
Edward Hopkins, 1640, 1644, 1646, 1648, 1650, 1652, 1654.
George Wyllys, 1642.
Thomas Wells, 1655, 1658.
John Webster, 1656.
John Winthrop Jr., 1657, 1659–1676.

MARYLAND

[Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, proprietor.]
Leonard Calvert, 1633–1647.
Thomas Greene, 1647–1649.
William Stone, 1649–1652.
Parliamentary Commissioners, 1652.
William Stone, 1652–1654.
Commissioners, 1654–1657.
Josias Fendall, 1658–1660.
Philip Calvert, 1660–1661.

MASSACHUSETTS

[Mathew Cradock, 1629. Named in the charter as governor.]
[John Endecott, 1629. "Governor of the Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay."]
John Winthrop, 1630–1633, 1637–1639, 1642, 1643, 1646–1648.
Thomas Dudley, 1634, 1640, 1645, 1650.
John Haynes, 1635.
Sir Henry Vane, 1636.
Richard Bellingham, 1641, 1654.
John Endecott, 1644, 1649, 1651–1653, 1655–1664.

NEW FRANCE

Samuel de Champlain, 1612–1629, 1633–1635.
[English occupation of Quebec, 1629–1632.]
Marc Antoine de Brasdefer de Chasteaufort, 1635–1636.
Charles Huault de Montmagny, 1636–1648.
Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge, 1648–1651, 1657–1658.
Jean de Lauson, 1651–1656.
Charles de Lauson de Charny, 1656–1657.
Pierre de Voyer, vicomte d'Argenson, 1658–1661.
Pierre du Bois, baron d'Avaugour, 1661–1663.
Augustin de Saffray, chevalier de Mézy, 1663–1665.

NEW HAVEN

Theophilus Eaton, 1639–1658.
Francis Newman, 1658–1660.
William Leete, 1661–1665.

NEW NETHERLAND

Cornelius Jacobsen May, 1624–1625.
William Verhulst, 1625–1626.
Peter Minuit, 1626–1633.
Wouter Van Twiller, 1633–1638.
William Kieft, 1638–1647.
Peter Stuyvesant, 1647–1664.

NEW SWEDEN

Peter Minuit, 1638–1640.
Peter Hollender, 1640–1643.
John Printz, 1643–1653.
John Pappegoya, 1653–1654.
John Rising, 1654–1655.

PLYMOUTH

(Prior to 1643, the term began in January or March; after that, in June.)

John Carver, 1620–1621.
William Bradford, 1621–1633, 1635–1636, 1637–1638, 1639–1644, 1645–1657.
Edward Winslow, 1633–1634, 1636–1637, 1644–1645.
Thomas Prince, 1634–1635, 1638–1639, 1657–1673.

RHODE ISLAND

PORTSMOUTH

William Coddington, judge, 1638–1639.
William Hutchinson, judge, 1639–1640.

NEWPORT

William Coddington, judge, 1639–1640.

THE ISLAND TOWNS

William Coddington, governor, 1640–1647.

THE PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS

John Coggeshall, president, 1647–1648.
William Coddington, president, 1648.
Jeremy Clark, president-regent, 1648.
John Smith, president, 1649–1650.
Nicholas Easton, president, 1650–1651.

THE MAINLAND TOWNS

Samuel Gorton, president, 1651–1652.
John Smith, president, 1652–1653.
Gregory Dexter, president, 1653–1654.

THE ISLAND TOWNS

William Coddington, governor, 1651–1653.
John Sanford, president, 1653–1654.

THE PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS (REUNITED)

Nicholas Easton, president, 1654.
Roger Williams, president, 1654–1657.
Benedict Arnold, president, 1657–1660, 1662–1663.
William Brenton, president, 1660–1662.

VIRGINIA

PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL

Edward-Maria Wingfield, 1607.
John Ratcliffe, 1607.
John Smith, 1608–1609.
George Percy, 1609.

GOVERNORS, ACTING GOVERNORS, ETC.

[Lord Delaware, 1610, governor and captain-general for life.]
George Percy, 1611.
Sir Thomas Dale, 1611, 1612–1616.
Sir Thomas Gates, 1611–1612.
George Yeardley, 1616, 1619–1621, 1626–1627.
Samuel Argall, 1617–1619.
Francis Wyatt, 1621–1626, 1639–1641.
Francis West, 1627–1628.
John Pott, 1628.
John Harvey, 1629–1635, 1636–1639.
John West, 1635–1636.
William Berkeley, 1641–1652, 1660–1677.
Richard Bennett, 1652–1655.
Edward Digges, 1655–1657.
Samuel Matthews, 1657–1660.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

THE following lists are intended to be helpful to the student of this volume by way of suggestion for supplementary reading; they are not offered as complete lists of works consulted by the author. Helpful suggestions are contained in the paragraph introductory to the bibliographical appendix to the first volume of this work. It is now suggested that valuable side-lights on many of the topics herein considered may be found in other general histories of the United States, such as Bancroft's, Hildreth's, etc.; some of which are cited in the appendix to the first volume. As the reader can easily find what he wants by reference to the indexes of those works, the following lists omit such references. The general arrangement of this bibliography is similar to that used in the preceding volume.

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CHAPTER I—CHAMPLAIN AND NEW FRANCE

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CHAPTER IX—THE OLD DOMINION

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CHAPTER X — MARYLAND BEFORE THE RESTORATION

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CHAPTER XI—NEW NETHERLAND

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CHAPTER XII — NEW SWEDEN

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CHAPTER XIII — ROGER WILLIAMS AND ANNE HUTCHINSON

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CHAPTER XIV — CONNECTICUT PLANTATIONS AND THE PEQUOT WAR

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CHAPTER XVI — MASSACHUSETTS TROUBLES

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